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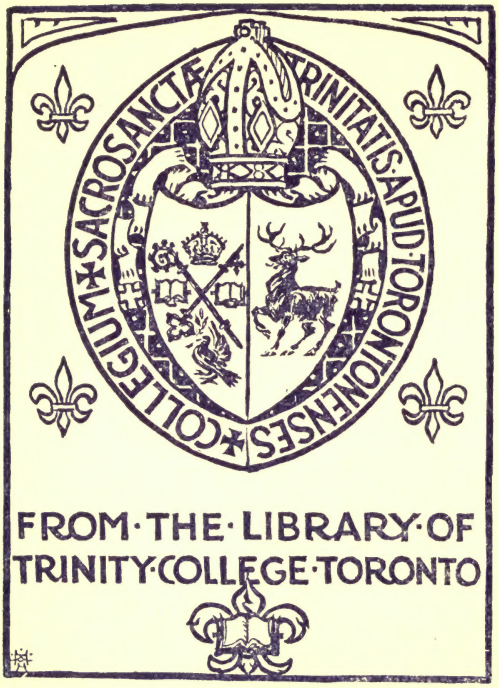

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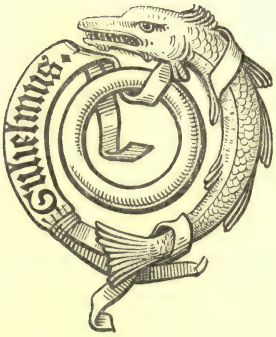
THE LIFE OF THOMAS KEN

BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS

BY A LAYMAN



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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Page

BIRTH — Parentage — Brother in law to Izaak Walton—Entered at Winchester College. William of Wykeham — Founder of St. Mary Colleges at Winton and Oxford 1

CHAPTER II.—William of Wykeham — Founds his two Colleges of St. Mary at Winchester and Oxford — Ken at Winchester 8

CHAPTER III.—Ken removes to Oxford — The ſtate of the Univerſity under the Commonwealth — His College life —The Reſtoration 17

CHAPTER IV.—Ken appointed to the Living of Little Eaſton — reſigns the cure — Made Chaplain to Biſhop Morley Fellow of Winchester College—Rector of Brightſtone— Prebendary of Winchester — Reſigns Brightſtone — Appointed to Eaſt Woodhay 31

CHAPTER V. — Ken reſigns the Rectory of Woodhay. His character as a Country Parſon. Mr. Izaac Milles of Highclere — Character of Biſhop Morley — Ken's duties at Winchester 44

CHAPTER VI. — Ken's Manual of Prayers for Winchester ſcholars—His Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymns The Original Melody of the Hymns — The Court of Charles II. at Winchester 61

CHAPTER VII. — Ken makes the Tour of Italy with Iſaak Walton's Son — At Rome in the year of Jubilee — Returns home — His attachment to the Church of England 79

Page

CHAPTER VIII.—Early life of William Prince of Orange—Delivers Holland from the power of Louis XIV. His Marriage to the Princeſs Mary—Ken appointed Chaplain at the Hague—His faithfulneſs in the diſcharge of his office 91

CHAPTER IX.—Ken returns from the Hague—appointed Chaplain to the King—His Funeral Sermon on Lady Margaret Maynard—The Court of Charles II. at Wincheſter—Ken refuſes the uſe of his Prebendal houſe to Nell Gwin 109

CHAPTER X.—Ken appointed Chaplain of the Fleet on the expedition to Tangier—Voyage—The vicious government of Tangier—Corrupt ſtate of the Navy . . 120

CHAPTER XI.—Ken returns to England—Death of Iſaak Walton; and of Biſhop Morley—Ken appointed to the Biſhopric of Bath and Wells—Attends the death bed of Charles II. 135

CHAPTER XII.—Acceſſion of James II.—Early Meaſures of the King for the eſtabliſhment of the Roman Catholic Religion—Ken's firſt viſit to Wells—The Palace at Wells—His Sermon at Whitehall on the character of Daniel—Coronation of James 162

CHAPTER XIII.—The Duke of Monmouth: his life and character—invades England 175

CHAPTER XIV.—The Duke of Monmouth lands in the Weſt of England—Defeated in the Battle of Sedgemoor—Cruelties of Lord Feverſham, and Colonel Kirke—Ken's appeal to the King on behalf of the priſoners—Monmouth condemned to death—Ken attends him on the ſcaffold 186

CHAPTER XV.—Ken's "Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm"—"Directions for Prayer"—"Prayers for the uſe of perſons who come to the Baths"—Perſecution of the French Huguenots—Ken's charitable diſpoſition—His zeal in the Paſtoral office 207

Page

CHAPTER XVI.—Meaſures of James II. for eſtabliſhing Romaniſm—Ken's Paſtoral Letter to his Clergy—His Sermon at Whitehall, upholding the Church of England—His boldneſs, and eloquence as a Preacher—The King's Declaration of Indulgence 225

CHAPTER XVII.—Ken's Sermon in the Abbey Church of Bath—The King touches for the Evil in the Abbey—Ken's conduct on the occaſion—His letters to Archbiſhop Sancroft 242

CHAPTER XVIII.—The King perſeveres in his meaſures for the eſtabliſhment of Romaniſm—Ken's ſermon at Whitehall, for which he is reproved by James—His firm reply 258

CHAPTER XIX.—The King's Declaration of Indulgence—Order of Council to have it read in all Churches—Petition of Archbiſhop Sancroft, Ken, and five other Biſhops againſt the Order. They are ſent to the Tower 274

CHAPTER XX.—Birth of a Prince of Wales—The Biſhops are releaſed from the Tower—Their trial for a Seditious Libel, and Acquittal—The Joy of the People—The Biſhops encourage their flocks to remain firm to the Church of England 292

CHAPTER XXI.—Invaſion of England by the Prince of Orange—Meaſures of the King to oppoſe him—Ken, and other Biſhops adviſe James to call a Parliament—He refuſes: the deſertion of his officers: he withdraws to France—William calls a Convention Parliament 309

CHAPTER XXII.—Meeting of the Convention Parliament—Declaration that the Throne was vacant—Not approved by Ken and others—The Crown conferred on William and Mary—The Revolution conſidered 332

CHAPTER XXV.—Ken, and other Biſhops, refuſe to take the Oath of Allegiance to William and Mary—Act of Parliament for their ſuſpenſion and deprival. Queſtion of Paſſive Obedience. Ken's conſiſtent Conduct. The Non-juring Biſhops publiſh a Vindication of themſelves. 347

Page

CHAPTER XXVI.—Ken is deprived of his Bishopric—Makes a public assertion in Wells Cathedral of his canonical right, and retires — His Poverty — Lord Weymouth affords him an asylum at Long Leat 386

CHAPTER XXVII.—Ken refuses to concur with Sancroft and other Non-jurors, in extreme measures — His moderate views and conduct — Disapproves of clandestine consecrations to perpetuate the Schism — Attends the services of the Church 399

CHAPTER XXVIII. — Ken's humane disposition — Circular letter of the deprived Bishops, recommending a charitable fund for the relief of the Non-juring Clergy — Character and Death of Kettlewell — Ken summoned before the Privy Council, and released 421

CHAPTER XXIX. — Death of James II. — Death of William III.; his character—Accession of Queen Anne—Bishop Kidder killed in the Palace at Wells during the great Storm—Anne offers to restore Ken to Bath and Wells: he declines: persuades Dr. Hooper to accept his Bishopric, and resigns 436

CHAPTER XXX. — Ken censured by many of the Non-jurors for his resignation of the Bishopric — Difference between himself and Lloyd—Queen Anne grants him a pension . 451

CHAPTER XXXI. — Resemblance of Ken, in some particulars of his life, to St. Gregory of Nazianzum. Ken's Poems — Death of Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester: his Character 467

CHAPTER XXXII. — Ken survives all the other deprived Bishops — Controversy among the Non-jurors. Ken recommends all to conform to the Church. Hickes and others refuse 485

CHAPTER XXXIII.—Ken's last Sickness,—Death—and Burial. Conclusion 497

APPENDIX 511

ERRATA.

P. 43, for "anxious activity," read "anxiety."
60, for "of both," read "or both."
64, for "met," read "meet."
93, for "so far the," read "so far from the."
135, for "town of Winchester," read "towers of Winchester."
144, for "spirit of the prayer," read "spirit of prayer."
146, dele note "Appendix C."
166, for "within ramparts," read "within the ramparts."
171, for "commands," read "command."
194, for "reduced," read "seduced."
307, for "whilst they," read "whilst the Bishops."
387, for "give it plain words," read "give it in plain words."
467, for "Nazianzen," read "Nazianzum."
479, for "acquiesse," read "acquiesce."
491, for "Nicæa," read "Nicea."

His all-sufficient aid imparts.
O may I, with a faith unfeign'd,
Preserve my Christian name unstain'd:
To copy Christ O may I strive,
From Whom I that dear name derive;
And die, when death shall me arrest,
A Christian, with Christ's unction blest."

Page

CHAPTER XXVI.—Ken is deprived of his Biſhopric—Makes a public aſſertion in Wells Cathedral of his canonical right, and retires — His Poverty — Lord Weymouth affords him an aſylum at Long Leat 386

ſhops — Controverſy among the Non-jurors. Ken recommends all to conform to the Church. Hickes and others refuſe 485

CHAPTER XXXIII.—Ken's laſt Sickneſs,—Death—and Burial. Concluſion 497

APPENDIX 511

Life of Thomas Ken.

CHAPTER I.

Birth — Parentage — Brother in law to Izaak Walton — Entered at Winchester College. William of Wykeham — Founder of St. Mary Colleges at Winton and Oxford.

THE birth-place of Thomas Ken was Little Berkhampſtead in Hertfordſhire; a retired village that even yet retains ſomething of a primitive repoſe. Here he received the grace of Regeneration and the Sign of the Croſs, "in token that he ſhould continue Chriſt's faithful ſoldier and ſervant unto his life's end." In one of his poems he vividly expreſſes his deſire to fulfil the vows made for him at the Font:

"Chriſtians, who Chriſt's anointed are,
In His celeſtial unction ſhare;
The Spirit, templing in their hearts,
His all-ſufficient aid imparts.
O may I, with a faith unfeign'd,
Preſerve my Chriſtian name unſtain'd:
To copy Chriſt O may I ſtrive,
From Whom I that dear name derive;
And die, when death ſhall me arreſt,
A Chriſtian, with Chriſt's unction bleſt."

He was born in July 1637—a period of our hiſtory when irreligion and laxity of morals were undermining the ſocial virtues of England. The diſtraction of civil feuds already prepared her decline among nations: and this year 1637 is memorable for events which led, not remotely, to the overthrow of the Stuarts. The accompliſhments and virtues of Charles I. would have dignified the ſtation of an Engliſh nobleman, but were unequal to ſuſtain him amid the perils which from the firſt ſurrounded his throne. He found the royal prerogative "aſſailed by a tempeſt of contending and reſtleſs factions, and the Church beleaguered by two great enemies, aſſaulted openly by the Papiſts on the one ſide, and undermined by the Puritans on the other."* Seditious plots againſt kingly government foreboded the coming ſtorm. The diſcontent of ſeparatiſts, finding fault with the ſervices and diſcipline of the Church, was but a prelude to the hypocriſy and profaneneſs which afterwards filled the land with violence.

The King was wanting in many of the qualities, by which alone he could arreſt the impetuous movement towards liberty (ſo called) in Church and State. His undecided character and ſtrong predilections prompted him to follow the alternate and often conflicting counſels of Laud, Strafford, Buckingham, and his Roman Catholic Queen.

In this year 1637 he made an ill-adviſed attempt without authority of Convocation or Parliament, to

* Archbiſhop Laud's Diary.

force upon Scotland the Liturgy of the Church of England, which to Preſbyterians was no leſs obnoxious than the ritual of Rome. This gave occaſion to the Scottiſh Covenant. Afterwards, in an evil hour, he was induced to ſanction a law for aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in that country, which was one of the greateſt errors of his reign, and the groundwork of after proceedings deſtructive to the well being of the Church.

In the ſame year, having reſolved to govern without Parliament, he had recourſe to violent expedients for his revenue. The trial of John Hampden, for refuſing to pay the tax of Ship-money, heightened the diſcontents of his Engliſh ſubjects, and led to the forfeiture of his crown and life. Neither the growing phrenzy of republicans and ſectaries, who brought the Earl of Strafford to the block, nor the cruel and unjuſt execution of Archbiſhop Laud, convinced the King, until too late, of the fatal extremes to which the nation might be impelled,—even "the guilt of ſhedding his own ſacred and innocent blood."*

Thus Ken was nurtured in an age that prepared men of loyal and reverential minds for a reſolute defence of the Church and of Monarchy. His ſpirit was diſciplined to ſuffer all things for conſcience' ſake, eſpecially in maintaining the purity of religion. He had learned to hold an even balance between allegiance to the Crown, and unſhaken fidelity to the Church. Amid all diſtractions he had one ſure anchor of the ſoul, one fixed point on which faith

* Form of prayer for the 30th of January.

might reſt,—the conviction that God's law is juſt, and that it is unchangeable.

His father, Mr. Thomas Ken, of Furnival's Inn, an attorney in the Court of Common Pleas, was of an ancient Somerſetſhire family. By his mother, Martha Chalkhill, he derived immediate deſcent from the Poet, John Chalkhill, of whom it is recorded that "he was in his time a man generally known, and as well beloved; for he was humble and obliging in his behaviour; a gentleman, a ſcholar, very innocent and prudent; indeed his whole life was uſeful, quiet and virtuous."* Theſe qualities, and his poetic genius, endeared him to the illuſtrious Edmund Spenſer.

Ken's mother died before he had yet attained his fifth year, or could know the full depth of ſuch a bereavement. But this almoſt irreparable loſs was in ſome meaſure ſupplied to him in his ſiſter Ann, who was then about thirty years of age. She was "a woman of remarkable prudence and of the primitive piety: her great and general knowledge was adorned with true humility, and bleſt with much Chriſtian meekneſs." This was the praiſe given to Ann Ken by one of the greateſt lovers of truth in that or any other age,—Izaak Walton, "honeſt Izaak," as he was familiarly termed by Dr. King, Biſhop of Chicheſter. His well known "Complete Angler, or Contemplative Man's Recreation," although unpretending in its ſubject, ſo abounds in pathos, and in Chriſtian reverence, as to place him high on the liſt of our moral writers. For harmony of language,

* Preface to Thealma and Clearchus.

freſhneſs of rural ſcenery, and truth of nature, many paſſages of this book have all the charm of poetry.

The character he has drawn of a true Angler is ſo merry-hearted, yet ſo innocent, ſo ſimple, yet ſo converſant in polite learning, ſo loyal and brave, that he is an example of a Chriſtian Gentleman. It is equally certain that few works in our language breathe a more devout and temperate ſpirit, than his lives of Dr. Donne, Sir Henry Wootton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Biſhop Sanderſon.

The union of Izaak Walton and Ann Ken in 1646, gave to Thomas Ken, at nine years of age, the right to call him his elder brother Izaak. Guided by his precepts through the paths of early life, he was trained up in Chriſtian love, to bear with the infirmities of others, to inform their judgements, and win them to the love of Chriſt. The value of this alliance was enhanced to Ken in 1651, when he was not yet fourteen years of age, by the death of his father; an event that impoſed on Walton the ſole reſponſibility of a parental watchfulneſs over the young orphan. His faithful diſcharge of this duty found its reward, when Ken became, in his turn, the inſtructor of Walton's ſon, afterwards a Prebendary of Saliſbury Cathedral.

It does not appear that Walton imparted to Ken a portion of his love for angling, or perſuaded him to follow in this the examples of Dean Nowell, and George Herbert, with other "ornaments of the art." Certain it is, however, that he inſtilled into his opening mind ſuch exalted views of the privilege and dignity of Holy Orders that, reſolving to forego

all ſecular purſuits, to follow the painful footſteps of the Apoſtles St. Peter and St. John, he became a patient and hopeful "fiſher of men."

It is doubtful at what period, or where, he firſt entered on his courſe of "grammar learning:" few memorials have been preſerved of thoſe early years, when laſting impreſſions for good or evil are ſtamped on our pliable nature. The ſpiritual graces that ſhone forth in him through life, might alone aſſure us that he was from a child, like young Timothy, trained up in prayer and ſtudy of the Holy Scriptures. This is confirmed by a paſſage of his own poems, which ſhows an affectionate and thankful heart for ſo great a bleſſing:

> "E'er ſince I hung upon my mother's breaſt,
> Thy love, my God, has me ſuſtain'd and bleſt:
> My virtuous parents, tender of their child,
> My education pious, careful, mild:
> My teachers zealous to well-form my mind,
> My faithful friends, my benefactors kind," &c.

Doubtleſs he was early initiated in the Catechiſm of our Church: and no ſooner was he conſecrated to the office of Biſhop, than he compoſed his "Expoſition on the Church Catechiſm, or PRACTICE OF DIVINE LOVE;" which, had he never written anything beſide, would juſtly entitle him to our grateful memory.

At the age of thirteen he was placed at Wincheſter ſchool. Here he went through the ordeal, which ſo often determines the moral character of after-life. In their paſſage to manhood, boys of a public ſchool are either raiſed in the ſcale of reſponſible beings, trained to a higher nature, and moulded to a reſolute and free-

hearted obedience to the divine will;—or, loſing their home-reverence for holy things, they become indifferent, bold in diſobedience, neglectful of prayer, openly profane; till at length, fallen from their innocence, they undergo the deep ſearing of conſcious ſin. How great, then, is the reſponſibility of maſters and tutors in our public ſchools, to whom is confided the training of Engliſh divines, nobles, ſtateſmen, and influential members of the middle claſs! It is not too much to ſay that the future intereſts of the Church and State are, in ſome ſort, confided to their care. If animated with a ſimple and holy ambition, great indeed is their privilege, and their reward!

CHAPTER II.

William of Wykeham — Founds his two Colleges of St. Mary at Winchester and Oxford—Ken at Winchester.

THE ancient and famed ſchool of Winchester was founded by William of Wykeham, a Prelate whoſe noble religious charity, conſecrated all his wealth to muniſicent works for the honour of God. Witneſs his two Colleges of St. Mary, at Winchester, and Oxford, wholly deſigned and endowed by himſelf for the perpetual maintenance of poor ſcholars, to be inſtructed in theology and ſcholaſtic learning; whereby the Church might inherit a ſucceſſion of holy men to adminiſter the ſolemn rites of religion.

It pleaſed God in the reign of Edward III. to raiſe Wykeham from a humble ſtation to be the chief ruler of the King's councils. As Pharaoh appointed Joſeph to preſide over all the land of Egypt, "becauſe he was diſcreet and wiſe," ſo for his excellent qualities did Edward commit the higheſt offices of the ſtate to the hands of Wykeham. "Everything was done by him, and nothing was done without him."* He has left us a ſhining example of watchfulneſs and fidelity both in eccleſiaſtical and ſecular rule. Entruſted with ten

* Froiſſart, vol. i. ch. 249. Ed. 1574.

talents, he accounted himſelf but a ſteward of God's bounties, employing them *all* in His holy ſervice. He repaired and beautified the Churches throughout his Dioceſe,—enlarged and richly endowed the Hoſpital of St. Croſs, and other charitable foundations, — reformed the rules and conduct of religious orders, and made contending Biſhops to be of one mind.

The crowning teſtimony of his zeal was the reſtoration of Wincheſter Cathedral; a work ſeemingly beyond the powers of one man to accompliſh. What a wiſe heart, what holy fervour, and ſteadfaſt energetic faith muſt have ſuſtained him in completing ſuch a monument of grandeur and ſkill! Here through all the viciſſitudes of doctrine and diſcipline God has been worſhipped: one generation after another has liſtened to the perſuaſive teaching of Biſhops and Paſtors: Choirs of angels have united in the Allelujahs, reſounding through the vaulted roofs and groinings of this glorious ſhrine. Who can eſtimate the rich bleſſings bequeathed to England by the pious founders of our ancient Cathedrals? Our greatneſs as a nation is inſeparable from the dignity and holineſs of the Church, which amid all troubles has been the Palladium of the monarchy, and thereby of Britiſh freedom.

Where now in this reluctant age ſhall we find one great-hearted man to lay even the firſt ſtone of ſuch a temple, in faith that future ſervants would be raiſed up to carry on the work? Vaſt heaps of wealth, untold revenues, lofty palaces, multiply through the land, while our Pariſh Churches, even within the domains of the great and noble, fall to decay. God has poured into our lap the treaſures of the world;

but alas! our hearts lie in our coffers, and cannot wing their way to the bright inheritance of a truer wealth above. One by one the poſſeſſors, rich in all but faith, are ſummoned to their reckoning, and drop into oblivion: but where are the recording angels to bear to Heaven the regiſtry of their deeds of ſelf-denying love? Not the very crumbs from their fulneſs, not ſo much as a poor legacy, for ever-enduring works of Chriſtian charity!

Chriſt's Name has been on our lips four centuries and a half ſince Wykeham was called to his reward:—And all things are ſtill wanting to the efficiency of the Church; Biſhops and their Suffragans, Cathedrals and Churches, Colleges and training-ſchools, Paſtors and teachers, to bear the meſſage of glad tidings to our untaught multitudes at home and abroad. It were well for us if but a tythe of a tythe of one year's millions, ſpent in luxury, vain ſplendour, and ſelf-indulgence, were given to ſatisfy theſe crying needs.

In founding his College of St. Mary Winton, Wykeham did not leave the objects of his munificence to the uncertain judgment or principles of after-times. He knew that, without a code of fixed rules, baſed on the ſupreme love of God, his plan would want the elements of laſting ſucceſs. He therefore beſtowed the greateſt pains in framing ſtatutes for Wincheſter, in every department of ſchool diſcipline; — for the election and removal of the ſcholars, for regulating their dreſs, ſtudies, dormitories, games and puniſhments, for their comfort in ſickneſs, their proviſion in health, —even the times of opening and ſhutting the gates.

He directed how they shall sit at dinner, how during the meal one of the scholars shall read aloud a portion of the Bible, or other holy book, "*quem in silentio epulantes audiant, et diligenter auscultent;*" and how, after saying grace, they shall go quietly out of hall, except on high festivals in winter, when they may remain to enjoy themselves over the fire, in singing, or reading poems and histories, or in other recreations, "*quæ Clericalem statum condecorant.*"

Above all, he provides for their daily attendance in Chapel, where they are commanded to join reverently in the appointed services, and in the observance of the Church festivals, chanting of psalms, &c. "So much care is taken," says Ken, "to make the youths good Christians, as well as good scholars, and they go so frequently to prayers, every day in the Chapel, and in the school, singing hymns and psalms to God so frequently in their chamber, and in the Chapel, and in the Hall, that they are in a manner brought up in a perpetuity of prayer."*

These statutes were so highly esteemed that Henry VI. adopted them, almost word for word, when, a century afterwards, he founded his no less illustrious Colleges of Eton, and King's College, Cambridge. In one particular at least, Winchester and Eton have unhappily deviated from their Founders' statutes, to the Church's manifest loss. It is quite clear that the seventy poor scholars in each were to be exclusively youths designed for holy orders. Our present spiritual

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* Ken's Manual of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester Colledge, 2nd Edition, 1675, p. 13.

needs at home and in the colonies ſurely demand that the original deſign ſhould be carried out.

On the 30th of January, 165$\frac{0}{1}$, Ken, now thirteen years of age, entered on the probationary life of a Wincheſter ſcholar.* Here his conduct was an example to others: his talents and acquirements paved the way for his advancement, in due time, from Wykeham's ſchool to his College at Oxford. The ſeeds were now ſown of a holy obedience to the diſcipline of religion, afterwards to be perfected in the rich fruits of his maturer age.

Here "he contracted a cloſely cemented friendſhip,"† that ceaſed only with their lives, with "Francis Turner, afterwards Biſhop of Ely, a moſt truly pious prelate." The attachment between theſe youthful Wincheſter ſcholars was no leſs fervent than the love between David and Jonathan, "whoſe ſouls were knit together." This mutual love deepened, in after-life, into a yet more ſtedfaſt friendſhip: both had been poor ſcholars, both were choſen to the higheſt offices in the Church; both diſplayed an apoſtolic fortitude as Confeſſors for

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* His admiſſion is thus recorded in the College-Books; "*Thomas Ken, de Berkhampſtead, in Com. Hertford, annorum* 13 *ad Feſtum Michaelis* 1650, *admiſſus eſt Januar.* 30, 1650. (Anſwering to our January 30th, 1651.) The College election was in thoſe days held at Michaelmas: each boy was then reckoned to be of the age which he had attained at his laſt preceding birth-day. Ken, therefore, born in July 1637, was 13 by the College calculation at Michaelmas 1650. His vacancy then fell 4 months after, and he was admitted as a ſcholar in January, 165$\frac{0}{1}$.

† Hawkins's "Short Account of the Life of the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas Ken, D. D. ſometime Ld. Bp. of Bath and Wells." 8vo. 1713, p. 2.

the primitive faith, when the unlawful commands of a tyrant were to be oppoſed; yet, immoveable in their loyalty, were content to ſuffer poverty and deprival for their ſtedfaſt allegiance in his reverſes and exile.

The College was at this time under the wardenſhip of Dr. John Harris, a noted Grecian, and formerly Greek Profeſſor of the Univerſity of Oxford, "which office he executed with great honour and credit."* But being tainted with the ſchiſmatical principles of the age, he ſided with the Preſbyterians againſt the Church, and ſet himſelf in the ranks of the diſaffected to oppoſe the King. He took the Covenant and other oaths, and was one of the Weſtminſter Aſſembly of Divines, appointed by Parliament in 1643, under pretence of ſettling religion and Church Government, but really for the purpoſe of conforming the Church of England to Preſbytery. The Book of Common Prayer and the Creed, even the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, were declared to be uſeleſs. Then followed the New Catechiſm, and the Confeſſion of Faith, ſet forth in the Directory, and all their conſequences, ſo fatal to the peace and happineſs of the nation—a warning to after-ages of the deſolating effects of ſchiſm on the heart and conſcience.

It is not likely the Warden of Wincheſter ſhould often, if ever, have found time to be preſent in the Aſſembly at London: his election is by no means concluſive that he attended their meetings. Several pious Biſhops and Divines of the Church were ap-

* Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, vol. ii. p. 225.

pointed, but refuſed to act,—as Archbiſhop Uſher, Biſhop Prideaux, Dr. Morley, Hammond, Sanderſon, and others. It is certain that Harris entered into controverſy with Dr. William Twiſſe, the Prolocutor of the Aſſembly. He was "ſo noted a Preacher that Sir Henry Savile (who was himſelf ſtyled the magazine of all learning) uſed often to ſay he was ſecond only to St. Chryſoſtom*" the golden mouthed father, whoſe orations, even in his youth, were ſo full of ſweetneſs and glowing fervour, that his maſter Libanius took a pride in reciting them to the moſt diſtinguiſhed rhetoricians of Antioch. To Warden Harris therefore, we may in ſome meaſure aſcribe Ken's perſuaſive and powerful eloquence, for which he afterwards became ſo remarkable.

He was five years in his progreſs through the ſeveral claſſes: each ſtep, as it brought him nearer to the rank of Præpoſtor, gave him greater privileges, and a fuller enjoyment of the ſports and paſtimes that expand and knit the youthful frame into manly vigour. We cannot doubt that as a Junior he obſerved the ancient ſtatute "*præfectis obtemperato*," as a Præpoſtor that of "*legitimè imperato*," and, as both, that of "*uterque a mendaciis, oſtentationibus, jurgiis, pugnis, et furtis abſtineto.*" Certainly, the love of God appears to have been an early inſtinct of his mind, and was afterwards heightened to an evangelical piety, as may be gathered from all his writings. Even his familiar letters begin and end with ſome expreſſion of holy zeal;—as "All Glory to God,"—"God keep

* Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 224.

us in His reverential fear and love;" or "God keep us reſigned to His will, and mindful of eternity," &c. In all his writings and prayers his heart is evidently exalted with an ardent piety, which muſt have grown with his growth, until it formed an eſſential part of his nature.

Here, training up for the conteſts and ſufferings of maturer age, under the ſtrict control of Wykeham's diſcipline, Ken and his friend Francis Turner paſſed through Wincheſter ſchool. At length in 1655 their mutual pleaſures were interrupted by Turner's removal to New College, Oxford. We may imagine the anxiety of his companion to follow him. But his younger age gave him another year to wait, increaſing in wiſdom, and in the ornaments of "a towardly diſpoſition,"* until 1656. "His parts, application, and behaviour were well employed and obſerved."†

He was now at the head of the ſchool, and on the verge of being ſuperannuated, having nearly completed eighteen years of age. Election Tueſday‡ approached: the Examiners from Oxford§ were to be welcomed at the College gate, according to ancient cuſtom, by a Latin ſpeech. Ken was probably head Præpoſtor, and appointed to the taſk. Then followed the examination of the candidates for New College: moments of fearful intereſt, to himſelf and his expecting friends. It was a joyful announcement when

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* Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 989.

† Hawkins' Life of Ken, p. 2.

‡ Between the 7th day of July and the 1ſt of October.

§ The Warden and two Fellows of New College.

he was declared to be on the roll of the elected: but, as there was no preſent vacancy at New College, he entered himſelf as a ſtudent at Hart Hall, in Oxford, in hopes of a vacancy within the enſuing year:—failing which, his chance was gone without recovery.

They who have been brought up at a public ſchool can teſtify how they love to recognize the names of their diſtinguiſhed men, engraved—or as it were enſhrined,—on the old wainſcotings and walls. Ken's name ſheds a bright ray on the venerable cloiſters of Wincheſter. "THO. KEN, 1656," cut into the ſtone buttreſs of the ſouth-eaſt corner, ſtill remains a cheriſhed memorial to Wykehamiſts of the good Biſhop. And near to this, within the ſame cloiſter, and of the ſame date, Dr. Moberly has lately diſcovered the name of Francis Turner, as if they knew not how to be ſeparated even in theſe early records.

CHAPTER III.

Ken removes to Oxford—The state of the University under the Commonwealth—His College life—The Restoration.

WOULD that we were able to give an exact account of our young scholar's journey, as he trudged from Winchester to those longed-for spires of Oxford. The happy pilgrimage was probably made on foot, with his walking staff; for it was not like a poor scholar of that day to ride his horse, and there were no stage coaches between Winchester and Oxford. In this he would follow the example of young Richard Hooker, when he took his journey on foot from Corpus Christi College to see his mother at Exeter. Passing by Salisbury, Hooker paid a visit to his loving patron, old Bishop Jewel, who lent him his own "walking staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany;"—and gave him "ten groats to bear his charges to Exeter," and promised "if he brought it back to him, he would give him ten groats more to carry him on foot to the College: and so God bless you, good Richard."*

In like manner, and with equal simplicity, we may suppose Ken to have travelled on, till he set himself

* Walton's Life of Richard Hooker.

down to reſt within ſight of Oxford,* and the ſound of Chriſt-church bells. Perhaps ſome reader may have felt the ſame thrilling emotions which ſtirred within him, when for the firſt time he caught a glimpſe of thoſe towers, riſing from the groves and meadows. Whilſt he looked out on the ſcene, he might indulge himſelf in anticipating the pleaſures of a College life.

But Oxford was no longer the happy abode of religion, learning, and peace. Her ſchools, colleges, and halls, beautiful in their order, hallowed by centuries of pious brotherhood and ſcholaſtic wiſdom, had for nearly twelve years been the ſcene of republican diſorders: many hundreds of the moſt eminent men had been thruſt out by the Parliamentary Viſitors, to make room for ſchiſmatics. Fanaticiſm and ſelfiſhneſs had uprooted religion, and ſeized the munificent endowments, deſigned to tranſmit learning and piety to the moſt diſtant ages. A holy charm ſeems to hang over St. Mary's in the diſtance,—how ſtill and beautiful! But Ken little knew the diſorder that reigned within. The rightfully appointed Preachers,—the Maſters and Fellows and Profeſſors, had long been under perſecution as "ſcandalous miniſters, ſaucy Jacks, brazen-faced fellows."† St. Mary's pulpit was ſtill profaned by the Seven Puritan Miniſters, ſent down by Parliament to preach the loyal ſcholars into a new obedience. All eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and religious ceremonies had been denounced as "a heap of atheiſtical Roman rubbiſh." The altar and ſtained

* On Hinckſey Hill, near Bagley Wood.

† Anthony Wood.

windows were commanded to be broken, the chancel levelled, organ and surplices abolished, and the Book of Common Prayer forbidden in Church or private families, on pain of imprisonment, *and all for liberty of conscience!*

Cromwell, the Arch-rebel and Regicide, was Chancellor. Dr. John Owen, "Oliver's Ahithophel, the Prince, the Oracle, the metropolitan of Independency," filled the office of Vice-Chancellor. Having solemnly promised obedience to the Bishop, his Diocesan, and taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity to his King,* he turned with the tide of Rebellion, preached against all Episcopal authority, and applauded the murder of Charles as just and righteous. On taking his seat as Vice-Chancellor he had sworn to observe the statutes and maintain the privileges of the University: yet he endeavoured to put down all habits and formalities, and "so undervalued his office as to go in *quirpo*, like a young scholar, with powdered hair, snake-bone band strings, with very large tassels, a large set of ribbons pointed at his knees, and Spanish leather boots, with large lawn tops, and his hat mostly cock'd." † He was "so great an enemy to the Lord's Prayer (yet ordained to Holy Orders!) that when some preachers concluded their own with it, (which was very seldom done by any, especially the Presbyterians and Independents, because it was looked upon, forsooth, as formal and prelatical to do so) he would with great sneering and scorn turn aside, or sit down, and put on

* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 737.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 738.

his hat."* One of the Proctors was "Hierome Zanchy, a boiſterous fellow at cudgelling, foot-ball playing, and indeed more fit in all reſpects to be a rude ſoldier than a ſcholar, or man of polite parts. In the beginning of the Rebellion he threw off his gown, and took up arms for the Parliament, and ſoon after became a Captain, a Preſbyterian, an Independent, and I know not what." †

It was no wonder, therefore, if republican Profeſſors, Maſters, Principals, and Fellows were thruſt upon the reluctant Univerſity, now ſuddenly bereft of her moſt perfect patterns of holineſs, and ſureſt guides in ſound learning, becauſe they demurred to the Covenant, and negative Oath, and the Engagement to the Commonwealth without King or Houſe of Lords.

In their room ſucceeded "an illiterate rabble of poor ſcholars, Pedagogues from Belfries, Curates, and ſometimes Vicars, as alſo Parliament ſoldiers, eſpecially ſuch as had lately been diſbanded. They were commonly called ſeekers, were great frequenters of the ſermons at St. Mary's, preached by the Seven Miniſters appointed by Parliament, and other Preſbyterians that preached in other Churches in Oxford, and ſometimes frequenters of the Conventicles of the Independents and Anabaptiſts. The generality of them had mortified countenances, puling voices, and eyes commonly, when in diſcourſe, lifted up, with hands laying on their breaſts; they moſtly had ſhort hair, which at this time was called the *Committee cut*, and went in

* Ibid. p. 739. † Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. ii. p. 69.

quirpo, in a shabb'd condition, and looked rather like apprentices, or antiquated school boys, than academicians, or ministers."* Not only the heads of Houses, Professors, Lecturers, and other members of the University, down to the undergraduates, but even "the beadles, college servants, bed-makers, and scrapers of trenchers were thrown out, and banished from their places."† Such were the violence and tumult, which to the amazement of all good men, "set the whole Church and nation in a combustion, and went far to render the Reformed religion, and all Protestants, odious to all the world."‡

New College, in the midst of this confusion, had especially maintained its loyal principles. The Warden was charitable Dr. Robert Pink. He needs no other praise than that he appointed Dr. Peter Gunning, Dr. Isaac Barrow, and Dr. Richard Sherlock to be Chaplains of his College. The last of these, when ejected by the Visitors, was compelled to accept the curacy of Cassington, near Woodstock, and out of a stipend of £16 a year bestowed the greater part in charity amongst the poor; a man of such exemplary holiness, that good Bishop Wilson honoured his memory by writing an account of his life.

Dr. Pink had some time before assembled all who were capable of bearing arms, and willing to serve for the defence of the King. The privileged men and scholars of New College answered freely to the summons. They formed themselves into a militia, bring-

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* Wood's Fasti Oxon. vol. ii. p. 61. † Ibid. p. 68.

‡ Oxford Reasons against the Covenant.

ing with them "ſuch apparel of war as they could rout out from the Colleges; helmets, back and breaſt pieces, pykes, muſkets, and other appurtenances."* The Cloiſters and towers of Wykeham, deſigned by their founder for the abode of peace, were converted into magazines of war.† But all in vain:—the battle of Naſeby was fought and loſt. Oxford yielded with her garriſon; then followed all the after-violence. New College was not ſpared in the general tumult: the members were cited to appear before Cheynell, Prynne, and other Viſitors. Only one of the Fellows conſented to the oaths; the others ſcorned to ſubmit to their uſurped authority. George Marſhall, who had ſerved as Chaplain to the rebel army, was obtruded into the Warden's chair. By the 22nd of April, 1650, eight Chaplains, and fifty-four Fellows, were thruſt out to make room for needy adherents to the new order of things.

This reign of terror in Oxford had in great meaſure ſubſided by the time Ken bent his footſteps to Hart Hall. There was a falſe calm, ſaddened by the preſence and rule of ſchiſmatics. Great was his ſorrow, when in the retired chamber of Francis Turner he firſt heard of the tauntings and ſcoffs by which holy ordinances were diſhonoured in the higheſt ſeats of authority. It was a gloomy proſpect for one of his inoffenſive and peaceable temper, when the governors of ſocieties, founded for the teaching of a pure faith, were banded together to oppreſs its adherents.

But not even theſe adverſe influences could root out

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* Life of Ant. à Wood, p. 13. † Ibid. p. 17.

the deep principles of religion which had for so many centuries ennobled Oxford. And where, if not within her precincts, could peace be found, when the despotism of a fanatical military had carried confusion into every corner of the land? The violence of man may seem for a while to withstand God's providential government. They who love Him have their trial, — perhaps their chastisement, — in wrongs to be endured. But all things work out His irreversible law; the ends of His wisdom are served even by the hands of the wicked. He had permitted the success of tyrants; but had not left Himself without witnesses in Oxford, even under their misrule.

Of these we must content ourselves with one example in the great and good Robert Boyle, whose rare wisdom and varied acquirements have perhaps remained unequalled by any since his time. In his own day these gained for him so great a fame, even in foreign countries, that no learned stranger came to England but sought his acquaintance.* He had attained a knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and other languages. He was familiar with all the mathematical sciences; yet so lowly in spirit, so innocent, candid, and obliging, that he demeaned himself humbly to all men who approached him. This is not to be wondered at, since his genius was sanctified by a Christian spirit. "He had so great a reverence for the Deity, that the very Name of GOD was never mentioned by him without a pause, and a visible stop in his discourse, in which Sir Peter Pett,

* Birch's Life of the Hon. Robert Boyle, p. 144.

who knew him for almoſt 40 years, affirms that he was ſo exact, that he did not remember to have obſerved him once fail in it." *

Such were his humble thoughts of himſelf, and his reſpect for God's ſervice, that "when he was ſolicited by the Earl of Clarendon to enter into Holy Orders, he did not think himſelf worthy; for he had ſo high a ſenſe of the obligations, importance, and difficulty of the paſtoral care, that he durſt not undertake it: ſo ſolemnly and ſeriouſly did he judge of ſacred matters." † He ſtood alone, however, in this modeſt opinion of his unfitneſs for the Prieſthood. Many of his writings prove that he would have been an excellent divine, had he been ſo conſecrated. One in particular raiſes the author far above the praiſe of that exalted philoſophy, by which he unfolded the myſteries of the natural world. In his treatiſe of "*Seraphic Love*, or *Some motives to the love of God*," he ſhows how God is the fitteſt Object of our love, and how He hath prepared for them that love Him "an ocean of felicity, ſo ſhoreleſs and ſo bottomleſs, that all the ſaints and angels cannot exhauſt it."

Nor did he ſatisfy himſelf with theſe written teſtimonies of having dedicated his heart to God. His whole life was a practical example how a layman of noble birth may cultivate the graces of a ſaint in the midſt of a profane and reſtleſs world; how the higheſt reach of intellect can bow itſelf down in ſimple faith before the unſearchable myſteries of Revelation. He ſhowed alſo his great zeal for religion by printing at

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* Ibid. p. 138.

† Ibid. p. 60.

his own expenſe the Holy Scriptures in the Malayan, Iriſh, and Welſh tongues; by founding the Incorporated Society for propagating the Goſpel in New England, and other parts of America; and by his endowment of eight ſermons annually for ever, to eſtabliſh the truth of the Chriſtian Religion.

It would be too long to enumerate his unbounded charities: we may leave the praiſe of his beneficence to Biſhop Sanderſon, who dedicated to him his Caſes of Conſcience, and ſpeaks of him as his patron, illuſtrious not only for his rank, but ſtill more for all chriſtian virtues. This was the well merited tribute of a grateful heart: for when Robert Sanderſon, himſelf ſo meek and merciful, and ſo great a lover of his King, (after being oppreſſed, plundered, wounded, and impriſoned by the Parliament troops) was reduced, with his wife and children, to great need and ſuffering, Mr. Boyle came to his relief, and without any ſolicitation beſtowed upon him an annuity of £50; a generous and chriſtian act, honourable alike to both.

It is no wonder, if Mr. Boyle ſhould form the centre of a little circle of wiſe and good men, wherever he might be; and it was a great happineſs for the Univerſity that he took up his abode in Oxford. His eminent qualities gained him a great reſpect from thoſe in authority; and he was able in ſome degree to aſſuage the confuſion and tyranny of the Covenanters, and "rebellious rout" who held ſway in every college.

But the heat of perſecution had now ſomewhat abated. The republicans, having poſſeſſed themſelves of all the good things they could lay hands upon, left the

ſcholars very much to their own ways, ſo long as they were peaceable and quiet. This ſuited Ken's diſpoſition; and he purſued his ſtudies amid the confuſion that ſurrounded him, not thinking it any part of his duty to enter into conflicts. He could be ſilent in his own thoughts, and enjoy the ſerenity of a well-ordered ſpirit. In 1657, within one year of his arrival in Oxford, he was admitted at New College. Beſides Francis Turner and others, there were two youths at Oxford, of temper and habits congenial to his own, ſtudents of Chriſt Church, with whom he now formed a laſting friendſhip. One was Mr. Thomas Thynne, afterwards "in conſideration of his great merits created Viſcount Weymouth; a perſon of ſtrict piety, honour, and integrity,"* — virtues which conferred upon him a higher claim to reſpect than his ancient deſcent. The other was George Hooper, of whom the celebrated Dr. Buſby declared he was "the beſt ſcholar, the fineſt gentleman, and would make the beſt biſhop, that ever was educated at Weſtminſter ſchool."†

It does not appear what degree of intimacy ſubſiſted between Lord Weymouth and Ken for ſome years after they left college; the frequency of their intercourſe was probably interrupted by the different ſpheres of life they were called to fill: but "in the reverſes of Ken's lot, and the evening of his days, when he had no home upon earth," Weymouth teſtified

* Collin's Peerage, vol. vi. p. 266.

† Athenæ Oxonienſes, vol. ii. p. 989.

the untiring fidelity of his attachment by affording him for twenty years an asylum at his noble mansion of Long Leat, where he closed his eyes.* Hooper and Ken were thrown together in every stage of their lives; one a learned Grecian and oriental scholar, the other as distinguished for his fascinating eloquence; fervent devoted Priests, alternately succeeding each other in their preferments, and both more solicitous for the other's advancement than their own.

We can hardly doubt that all three formed part of the resolute band in Oxford, who assembled together for prayer in the House of Thomas Willis, close by Merton College, when the Liturgy had been prohibited in the Churches and Chapels. Like the disciples of old, in their upper room, these trustful Christians "performed their devotions according to the Book of Common Prayer, none being admitted but their confidents. There they maintained the orders and rubric of the Church of England on all Lord's days, Holy days, and their Vigils, and administered the Holy Communion."† This was begun by that "great undervaluer of money," Dr. John Fell, also the eloquent John Dolben, afterwards Archbishop of York, and other divines; and was continued until the Restoration, to the great comfort and support of the afflicted Royalists. To believe, to trust, and to suffer, are privileges that can never be taken from Christ's faithful followers; to seek their happiness in a simple dedicating of them-

* Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. i. p. 42.

† Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 795.

ſelves to His will, to abide His time for eventual peace, and to repoſe on His ſure word, is to triumph in the midſt of ſlander and oppreſſion.

Ken was a ſkilful player on the lute; and did not betake himſelf ſo cloſely to his ſtudies, but that he allowed himſelf an indulgence in his innocent recreation of muſic, for which "he had an excellent genius.*" The organs, and choral ſervices had been ſilenced by the uſurpers: but there were many in Oxford who could not ſubmit to change their countenances and manners at the word of command. Some of theſe formed themſelves into muſical parties under the facetious, and no leſs learned and loyal, Anthony à Wood, who enumerates the ſeveral performers, their inſtruments, and degrees of ſkill. He ſays "Thomas Ken, of New College, a Junior, would be ſometimes among them, and ſing his part."† Indeed it would appear that Vice Chancellor Owen, either affected the example of the Protector ("who loved a good voice and inſtrumental muſic well") or was really fond of muſic, for its own ſake. About this time, he recalled Mr. John Wilſon, the beſt player on the lute in all England, made him Univerſity Profeſſor of Muſic, and aſſigned him a lodging in Balliol College. To his exertions and ſkill, and to thoſe of William Ellis, the deprived organiſt of St. John's, may be attributed in great meaſure the muſical ſpirit that prevailed. Weekly meetings were held at their houſes, and ſometimes in the College chambers, where they got together

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 24.

† Life of Anthony à Wood, p. 125.

full bands of lutes, viols, (baſs, tenor, counter-tenor and treble) lyra-viols, virginals, and even violins, which began now to be in faſhion.

Thus time paſſed on, until all claſſes had learned to bewail the diſquiet which England had brought on herſelf. The ſpirit of rebellion, and the death of their martyred king, had entailed upon the people their own heavieſt puniſhment in a ſeries of national crimes. Their phrenzy for liberty had reſulted in the iron bondage of a military deſpotiſm. As they had ſhown no pity, they were in turn viſited by juſtice without mercy. A bold impiety had taken from them all love of ſpiritual things. The Church being overthrown, they were given up alternately to profaneneſs and hypocriſy, and forced to perjure themſelves with ſucceſſive oaths, engagements, and covenants, under pretext of exalting the Goſpel and Kingdom of Chriſt. Preſbyterians, Anabaptiſts, Independents, Quakers, Antinomians, Socinians, Levellers, and Fifth-monarchy men, of whom many agreed only in hatred of the Church, and of each other, became at length weary of the burthen of their own manifold confuſions.

In the midſt of this deſolation a releaſe was providentially prepared by Him, who "weighs the nations in a balance." The coming deliverance was uſhered in by the gorgeous pageantry of Cromwell's funeral. The diſcordant factions of the "Council of the Army," the "Council of State," and the "Committee of Safety" foretold the downfal of the Republic. Although the firſt ſymptoms of returning order were for ſome time faint and uncertain, and hopes and fears

agitated all minds, as the Parliament, or Lambert, or Monk, ſeemed to prevail, the ſecret counſels of the Royaliſts took at length a definite courſe. General Monk declaring himſelf openly for the King, the whole nation concurred in his joyful Reſtoration to the throne.

When Charles II. took poſſeſſion of his palace at Whitehall, the memory of twenty years' ſufferings was for a moment loſt in the univerſal triumph. What then muſt have been the gladneſs of the Univerſity, when the King's Commiſſioners arrived at Chriſt Church to reinſtate Morley, Fell, Dolben, Sanderſon, and others who had been expelled from their Colleges as "malignants and ſcandalous Recuſants!" The voice of joy and thankſgiving, as of thoſe who keep holiday, reſounded in the College Halls. In every court and quadrangle were to be heard mutual congratulations of old friends, arriving one after the other to increaſe the general gladneſs.

CHAPTER IV.

Ken appointed to the Living of Little Eaſton—reſigns the cure—Made Chaplain to Biſhop Morley—Fellow of Wincheſter College—Rector of Brightſtone—Prebendary of Wincheſter—Reſigns Brightſtone—Appointed to Eaſt Woodhay.

OF the next two or three years of Ken's life few records are to be found. He took his degree of Bachelor of Arts the 3rd of May, 1661, and that of Maſter the 21ſt of January, 1664.* Mr. Bowles ſuggeſts that he may have been Tutor of his College, which is not improbable. He might train the younger Wykehamiſts in the rules of Chriſtian obedience, and at the ſame time mature his own theological ſtudies. Of this laſt duty of preparation for Holy Orders no one could have a deeper ſenſe.

And if at all times the Prieſt's office demands a ſpirit fully braced to his high calling, it was eſpecially ſo at this period, when the Engliſh Church was brought into extreme peril. The return of kingly government had indeed huſhed the ſtorm in which ſhe had well nigh been ſwept away: but if to our day, after two centuries, ſhe bears the ſcars of her chaſtiſement in the Rebellion, her wounds were then freſh and bleeding. Her diſcipline was relaxed, her doctrines

* Anthony à Wood's Faſti Oxon. vol. ii. pp. 140 and 158.

queſtioned, her ſervices but partially reſtored, her revenues alienated, her unity broken into fragments. Above all, the people were tainted by a general diſorder and profligacy, ſifted through every grade of ſociety by a civil war.

In this ſtate of diſcord Ken had reſolved to devote himſelf to the ſervice of the Church, and was ever after found a courageous and watchful Paſtor, remembering the Good Shepherd's injunction, "Feed My lambs, feed My ſheep." Oxford, freed from the turmoil of the Rebellion, was of all places beſt ſuited to his deſign. Here without interruption he could give himſelf to the purſuit of theology. The Bodleian, and his College library, afforded ample ſtores of reference beyond the reach of common ſtudents, eſpecially the works of the primitive Fathers, thoſe venerable pillars of the Church and champions of Catholic truth, from whom earneſt-minded Chriſtians of all times have drawn abundantly for their need. In theſe retreats, cultivating his natural talents by a judicious courſe of ſtudy, he matured himſelf for his future calling.

The ſerious happy time of receiving Holy Orders at length arrived. Having prepared himſelf by prayer, ſtudy, and chaſtiſement of the will, to forſake the allurements and aims of the world, he attained to a humble "truſt that he was inwardly moved by the Holy Ghoſt to take upon him this office and miniſtration, to ſerve God for the promoting of His glory, and the edifying of His people."* It is doubtful at

* Ordination Service.

what precise time he was ordained. A vain search has been made in the records of various Dioceses to discover the date. Hawkins does not inform us; Bowles supposes it to have been soon after he took his degree in 1661.* Wood intimates that it was after his Master's degree in 1664,† and that he was made Chaplain to Lord Maynard, as his first step to promotion. Bowles‡ and Wood§ say his first living was Brightstone in the Isle of Wight; Hawkins, East Woodhay in Hampshire.|| The whole account is inaccurate. He was instituted on the presentation of William, Lord Maynard, to the Rectory of Little Easton, in the hundred of Dunmow in Essex, in 1663.¶ Wood seems to have mistaken this for an appointment as Chaplain. Hawkins does not mention the Chaplaincy, and there is no record of it in the Faculty office; on the contrary, we find an entry of the appointment of David Nichols, as Chaplain to Lord Maynard, in the preceding year, 28 April, 1662.

The Parish Church of Little Easton is just without the limits of the Park of Easton Lodge, the seat of Lord Maynard. Ken had the happiness to be supported in his endeavours for the good of his people by the countenance and example of the noble family at the Lodge. In his funeral sermon on Lady Margaret Maynard, twenty years afterwards, we have this testimony to the friendship that subsisted between them.

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* Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. i. p. 91.

† Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 989.

‡ Vol. i. p. 115.

§ Vol. ii. p. 989.

|| Life of Ken, p. 6.

¶ "EASTON PARVA: P. Dunmow. Thomas Ken, 20 Aug. 1663. Wms. Doms. Maynard, B^n^. Easton." Records in the Faculty office.

"Say, all you who have been eye-witneſſes to her life, did you from her very cradle ever know her other than a gracious woman? *As to myſelf I have had the honour to know her near twenty years, and to be admitted to her moſt intimate thoughts;* and I cannot but think, upon the utmoſt of my obſervation, that ſhe always preſerved her baptiſmal innocence, and that ſhe never committed any one mortal ſin, which put her out of the ſtate of grace."*

From this eloquent ſermon, in praiſe of his early friend, we gather valuable notices of his own miniſtry. When he applauds Lady Margaret for "offering up to God, *morning and evening, the public ſervices,*" he clearly indicates that he was himſelf in Church to lead them. He would ſurely not have reminded the people how "*to prayers ſhe added faſting, till her weakneſs made it impoſſible to her conſtitution,*" unleſs he had in his daily walk ſet them the example of a ſtrict and auſtere life. When he ſpeaks of her "*enlarged devotions on the Faſts and Feſtivals of the Church,*" who but himſelf encouraged and aſſiſted in them? If "*ſhe never failed on all opportunities to approach the Holy Altar,* came with a ſpiritual hunger and thirſt to that heavenly feaſt, and communicated with a lively and endearing remembrance of her crucified Saviour," it was himſelf who opened thoſe frequent approaches.

Would that the Clergy in this our day followed, as

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* A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Right Honourable the Lady Margaret Maynard, at Little Eaſton in Eſſex, on the 30th of June, 1682. On Prov. xi. 16. *A gracious Woman retaineth honour.* 4to.

he did, the primitive rule, enjoined by the Rubric, of daily service, and the celebration of the Fasts and Festivals, throughout the year. If men are to have their affections raised to something higher than this care-worn world, it must be through the consistent example of a devout, steadfast, abiding Clergy. How can the people be expected to obey the injunctions of the Church, if their Pastors maintain a contrary rule, after the varying standard of their own judgment and convenience? It is vain to preach to them the privileges of public worship, so long as the Priests themselves disobey, and keep their Church doors closed against the "little flock." There may on Sundays be a gathering of the refined and educated, brought up in a love of order, and willing to attend once a week, if only to set an example to their household and dependents. But the poor, the labourer, the rude uncultivated mass,—still more the sabbath-breaker, the drunkard, the licentious and unbelieving, will never be converted from the power of evil under a languid inexpressive system, such as now prevails in the majority of our Parishes.

The lower orders of the people have a keen sense of the nonconformity of those set over them, and *of their equal right to adopt their own measure of obedience.* Many perhaps could not, or would not at first, attend the daily services, or observe the festivals, even if offered to them; yet they can appreciate the affectionate untiring zeal of their Clergy in giving them the opportunity. Of this we have a touching example in "some of the meaner sort" of George Herbert's parish, "who did so love and reverence him, that they would let their plough rest when his Saints-bell

rung to prayers, that they might alſo offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his moſt holy life was ſuch, that it begot ſuch reverence to God and to him, that they thought themſelves the happier, when they carried Mr. Herbert's bleſſing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reaſon and example to perſuade others to a practical piety and devotion."* And what, if there be ſome within the pariſh who ſecretly ſigh after the abſent ſervices, and are debarred from the ſympathy of common prayer? what, if the aged and infirm, or the ſuffering, or the penitent, long to wend their way to the ſanctuary—and may not? Who ſhall bear the reproach? or who render the account?

Ken ſays, "Lady Margaret, when ſhe came home from Church, recollected and wrote out of her memory abſtracts of all the ſermons ſhe heard, which are in great numbers amongſt her papers." Search has been made without ſucceſs for theſe abſtracts. If we may judge from Ken's few diſcourſes that are extant, they would have deſerved the praiſe beſtowed on Lactantius, of a divine fluent excellence, ſavouring of a mind that was truly mortified, and intended to bring his auditors to a reſolved courſe of ſanctification and piety.† Certain it is they helped to animate Lady Margaret with "ſo divine a ſpirit, with ſuch ardours of devo-

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* Walton's Life of George Herbert.

† The Glory of their Times; or, Lives of the Primitive Fathers. 1640. 8vo. p. 152.

tion and charity, as might have become a Proba or a Monica."*

It was no slight testimony to Ken's worth to have gained, at that early age, the friendship of such a man as Lord Maynard, whose unbending loyalty and firm adherence to the fortunes of the King had exposed him to the violence of Cromwell. Though his zeal in the royal cause had brought upon him an impeachment by the Parliament in 1647,† he was one of the small but fearless number of Peers who met in their House, and unanimously refused to concur with the Commons in their resolution to bring Charles to a public trial. Lord Maynard's great authority at Court after the Restoration may have had some influence on Ken's later advancement: but his merits were too well known both at Oxford and Winchester to permit his remaining long in the retirement of Little Easton. Besides, it was natural that Izaak Walton, the friend of Morton, Sanderson, Duppa and other Prelates, above all of the munificent and virtuous Morley, should see his brother Ken called to a more extended post of duty.

Notwithstanding their different spheres of life, a warm and lasting attachment subsisted between Morley and Walton. They were united not only by a perfect harmony of tempers, but by an agreement of opinion on subjects of deepest interest to them, as Christian men,—by the same enduring loyalty, the same studi-

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* Ken's Sermon, preached at the Funeral of Lady Margaret Maynard, 1682.

† Collin's Peerage, vol. vi. p. 491.

ous devout courſe of life. Walton was at this time, and had been for ſeveral years, either at Worceſter or Wincheſter, the conſtant and familiar inmate of the Biſhop's Palace.* Under his roof he wrote the Lives of Richard Hooker, George Herbert, and Biſhop Sanderſon, reviſed his former Lives of Dr. Donne and Sir Henry Wootton, and alſo enlarged his *Compleat Angler* in the fifth and laſt edition.

Here, we may believe, Ken had often found a welcome in the intervals of his later ſtudies at Oxford. His humble religious diſpoſition, ſimple manners, and lively converſation, could not but attract the Biſhop's eſteem, as they had won the confidence of others. Wherever he had been he had behaved himſelf wiſely, for he loved his Maſter's ſervice: this was the ſecret ſpring of his gradual riſing to greater eminence in the Church than even thoſe who aided in his advancement.

Having retained the Rectory of Little Eaſton for two years, he reſigned it into the hands of his friend Lord Maynard, on the 19th of April, 1665. It was now, perhaps, that Biſhop Morley called him to Wincheſter, and made him his own Chaplain. Wood† and Hawkins‡ ſay 1667; but their dates are in other reſpects ſo faulty, they cannot be truſted. And probably this was the period when he firſt undertook the gratuitous cure of St. John's, a forſaken Pariſh in the Soke at Wincheſter, which alſo ſome years

* Biſhop Morley was conſecrated to Worceſter, 18th October, 1660, and tranſlated to Wincheſter in 1662.

† Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 989.

‡ Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 6.

afterwards appears to have formed part of his laborious duties.

Anthony Wood says of Ken's Oxford life, that "his towardliness towards good letters and virtue were observed by the Seniors:" so at Winchester he gained golden opinions from all; and on the 8th of December, 1666, he was unanimously elected a Fellow of that College, resigning, of course his Oxford Fellowship.* "There his most exemplary goodness and piety did eminently exert itself; for that College being chiefly designed by its Founder for a retired and studious life, what could a great and generous spirit propose but the good of souls, and the glory of that God, to whom he constantly ascribed it, even in his most familiar letters. For '*Glory to God*' was his constant Prescript to all his letters and papers."† But a recluse life was foreign to the bent of his desires. Some responsible work in the cure of souls was better adapted to one so loving and zealous, and so highly gifted. The Bishop, therefore, on the 6th of July, 1667,‡ collated him to the Rectory of Brightstone in the Isle of Wight, a cheerful little village, about four miles from Carisbrook Castle, with a goodly Church, and a near prospect of the sea, sheltered from cold winds by over-hanging hills.

There, removed from the observation of all but his small confiding flock, he again exercised himself in the duties of the Christian ministry, persuading men to the fear of God, and converting them from the power of

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* Records of Winchester College.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 4.

‡ Books of the Public Record Office.

ſin to the free love of their Heavenly Father. If there be joy in the preſence of the Angels over one ſinner that repenteth, what ſhall it be to a faithful, enduring prieſt to meet that ſoul in Heaven, ſaved by his holy counſels, his example, and his prayers! No voice, perhaps, may proclaim his praiſe on earth,—not even gratitude repay his ſervice: yet when the Lamb ſhall open the Seals, and *that one* be found written "in the book of remembrance," as having feared the Lord, and thought upon His Name,—then he that was turned to righteouſneſs, and he that was the happy inſtrument, "ſhall be Mine, ſaith the Lord, in the day when I make up My jewels."

Biſhop Morley exacted a ſtrict obedience to the Rubric in regard to daily prayers, and the obſervance of the Faſts and Feſtivals throughout his Dioceſe: we are not, therefore, left to ſurmiſe whether Ken's practice was the ſame here as at Little Eaſton. It would appear that his Pariſh duties were ſometimes interrupted by his attendance on the Biſhop in his palace at Chelſea. We have occaſional notices of him there in the Diary of the pious Lady Warwick, who alſo had a houſe at Chelſea, and attended the ſervices at the Old Church.

"*Eaſter Day*, 7th *April*, 1667. Went to Church, when I heard Mr. Ken preach; his text was 1. John, ch. 3. v. 3. 'And every man that hath this hope in him purifieth himſelf even as He is pure.' I was very attentive at the ſermon, and moved by it: when the ſermon was done, I found my heart exceedingly to long after the bleſſed feaſt: and when I remembered the ſufferings of my Saviour I did weep bitterly,

and with great earneſtneſs begged of God to give me Chriſt; my heart was much carried out to bleſs God, and I had there ſuch ſweet communion with Him, that I could ſay it was good for me to be there."*

"*Sunday*, 22nd *December*, 1667. After I came home in the evening from hearing Mr. Ken, God was pleaſed to move my heart to ſpeak to my Lord about things of everlaſting concernment; and I was enabled, in an awakened frame of ſpirit, to perſuade him to repentance, and to make his peace with God."†

"*Chriſtmas*, 25th *December*, 1667. In the afternoon Mr. Ken preached: his text was 'For this cauſe was the Son of God manifeſted, that He might deſtroy the works of the Devil.' I was attentive and affected at the Sermon. I did in diſcourſe with the young ladies warn them to be careful to keep their engagements made to God at the Sacrament."‡

"*Sunday*, 9th *February*, 1668. I went to Church to hear Mr. Ken preach; his text was 'Behold thou art made whole, ſin no more, leſt a worſe thing come on thee.' It was a very good ſermon, and God was pleaſed much to affect my heart with it; and whilſt he was preaching upon that paſſage 'ſin no more,' God was pleaſed to make me, with ſtrong deſires and many tears, to beg power againſt ſin for the time to come."§

Only two ſhort years this holy meſſenger delivered the glad tidings of peace, and adminiſtered the Church's ſervices to the comfort of his people at Brightſtone.

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* Memoir of Lady Warwick, and her Diary, 1847, 12mo. p. 107.
† Ibid. p. 138. ‡ Ibid. p. 140. § Ibid. p. 146.

Biſhop Morley called him back to Wincheſter: for "without any application made on his behalf he preferred him to the dignity of Prebendary in the Cathedral Church in Winton, and he was inſtalled accordingly, April 12, 1669."* In the following month, that he might have him nearer to his own perſon, the Biſhop gave him the Rectory of Eaſt Woodhay, vacant by the removal of Robert Sharrock.

It was inconſiſtent with Ken's views of the miniſterial office to hold more than one living, though it was then a common cuſtom. On the very day of his being collated to Woodhay, the 28th of May, 1669, he reſigned Brightſtone into the hands of the Biſhop, who appointed the Rev. John Fitzwilliam, his ſucceſſor. "*Biſhop Ken's yew hedge*" is ſtill ſhown as a cheriſhed memorial, in the Rectory garden: his name imparts to the Church and village "a ſweet ſavour of holy things."

He held the living of Woodhay from the 28th of May, 1669, to the 8th of November, 1672, fulfilling the offices of his cure with the ſame devotedneſs as at Brightſtone and Little Eaſton,—with the ſame affectionate care for the ſpiritual and bodily wants of his people, the ſame diligence in viſiting, catechizing, reading the ſcriptures and preaching to them,—the ſame zeal in gaining by whatever means precious ſouls to God—the ſame aſcetic life, which was "a continual death to animal appetites." In the Pariſh regiſter of Woodhay is an entry of the Baptiſm of "Roſe Ken, daughter of Mr. Jon Ken, born 23rd June, 1670."

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* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 6.

Jon Ken was his elder brother, married to Rose Vernon; and from this it would seem that our Thomas Ken (himself unalterably dedicated to a single life) had the society of his brother's family in the Parsonage house.

The dates of Ken's preferments have been given with this precision, because his biographers are not accurate in the order of them. Hawkins says "soon after he was Fellow of Winchester College, Dr. George Morley, then Bishop of that Diocese, presented him to the Parsonage of Woodhay in Hampshire,"* omitting his previous appointment to Brightstone. Wood assumes that "after he had held Woodhay a little while he resigned it into his Lordship's hands, under the pretence of conscience, thinking he had enough without it,"† meaning that he still retained Brightstone. Bowles, adopting this error, says "though a Fellow of a College, and a dignitary of a Cathedral, he was a pluralist into the bargain; but soon after being presented to Woodhay, he resigned it though tenable with Brightstone," supposing that he held this last *after* Woodhay, instead of before.

In fact, Ken declined any pastoral cure, the duties of which he could not personally perform. There was no anxious activity to accumulate benefices to himself. He no doubt agreed in opinion with zealous Bernard Gilpin, who declared "though any other should preach and teach for me as constantly and industriously as St. Augustine did, yet I cannot think myself discharged by another man's painstaking."‡

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* Life, p. 6. † Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. p. 989.

‡ Kidder's Life of Anthony Horneck.

CHAPTER V.

Ken reſigns the Rectory of Woodhay. His character as a Country Parſon. Mr. Izaac Milles of Highclere—Character of Biſhop Morley. Ken's duties at Wincheſter.

THE probable occaſion of his reſigning Woodhay was the deſire of the Biſhop, now advancing in years, to ſecure his undivided ſervices and ſociety at Wincheſter; for the labours of the Dioceſe required ſuch an aſſiſtant. Moreover, he deſigned the living for George Hooper, already a Canon of Chriſt Church, Oxford. Of Hooper's learning it is ſufficient to ſay that "he ſtudied the oriental languages (in which as well as the mathematics he was a great maſter) under Dr. Pocock, with whom he uſed to correſpond on that ſubject by letters. And when he was removed from Oxford to London, the Rabbis of the Synagogue there uſed to bring him anything that was curious in that way."* Of his piety, a long conſiſtent and devoted life, public and private, is the beſt of all teſtimonies.

The Biſhop had written to Hooper two years before to requeſt that he would be his chaplain. "I dare not," he ſays, "do a man of your parts and hopes ſo great an injury as to take you from what you have at Chriſt Church (which Mr. Dean tells me is very con-

* MS. Memoir of Dr. Hooper, by his daughter, Mrs. Prowſe: in the poſſeſſion of Lady Mordaunt.

ſiderable) before I have anything to give you in lieu of it. I ſhall therefore for your ſake, and for your ſake only, defer the contentment I expect and promiſe myſelf from your being with me, until ſomething or other falls in my gift, which may ſecure you and me, ſo that we ſhall not have cauſe to repent of it. In the mean time I do aſſure you that, if you will keep yourſelf for me, I will keep myſelf for you, without taking or thinking of any other Chaplain beſides him I have already. Farewell, and pray for your loving friend, GEO. WINTON.*

Chelſay, May, 1670.

In 1672 a vacancy occurring at Havant in Hampſhire, which was in the Biſhop's gift, he beſtowed it on Hooper, and appointed him his Chaplain. It was an unhealthy place, and on taking poſſeſſion he got the ague: ſo it was agreed among them all that Ken ſhould reſign Woodhay to his friend, and transfer himſelf to Wincheſter.

It was a great comfort to him to have one he ſo much loved as his ſucceſſor; yet he felt the pain of ſeparating from his pariſhioners. Common obſervers can hardly appreciate the paſſionate deſire of a devoted energetic Prieſt to advance his people in their conformity to GOD's law. His life is one zealous effort for their ſoul's ſake; he does all to lead them in ſafety through the mazes of a tangled world; and tries every expedient to open to their view the realities that lie beyond. Early and late he watches over them with a tender care—encourages the fearful,

* Prowſe MS.

quickens the loiterers, reproves the diſſolute and profane, counſels the doubtful, relieves the poor, gathers alms from the rich, reconciles all who differ — endeavours by exhortations, prayers and ſacraments to raiſe them to the perfect ſtandard of Chriſtian love.

Such was holy Ken at Little Eaſton, Brightſtone, and Woodhay, — the zealous affectionate guide of his flock, like an angel bearing to them the meſſage of truth, impelled by the nobleſt motives to refine them from all ſin, and make them aſpire to a holineſs kindred with his own. In one of his poems he gives a picture of what he conſiders a Paſtor of Chriſt ought to be: in every line we may trace his own undeſigned portrait.

" Give me the Prieſt theſe graces ſhall poſſeſs,—
Of an ambaſſador the juſt addreſs:
A fathers tenderneſs, a ſhepherds care,
A leaders courage, which the Croſs can bear;
A rulers awe, a watchmans wakeful eye,
A pilots ſkill the helm in ſtorms to ply;
A fiſhers patience, and a labourers toil,
A guides dexterity to diſembroil;
A prophets inſpiration from above,
A teachers knowledge and a Saviour's love.
Give me the Prieſt, a light upon a hill,
Whoſe rays his whole circumference can fill;
In Gods own word and ſacred learning vers'd,
Deep in the ſtudy of the heart immers'd;
Who in ſick ſouls can the diſeaſe deſcry,
And wiſely for reſtoratives apply.
To beatific paſtures leads his ſheep,
Watchful from helliſh wolves his fold to keep;
Who ſeeks not a convenience, but a cure,
Would rather ſouls than his own gain enſure.
Inſtructive in his viſits and converſe,
Strives every where ſalvation to diſperſe;

Of a mild, humble, and obliging heart,
Who *with his all* does to the needy part;
Diſtruſtful of himſelf, in God confides,
Daily himſelf among his flock divides.
Of virtue uniform, and cheerful air,
Fix'd meditation, and inceſſant prayer,
Affections mortified, well guided zeal,
Of ſaving truth the reliſh wont to feel;
Whoſe province, Heaven, all his endeavour ſhares,
Who mixes with no ſecular affairs,
Oft on his paſtoral amount reflects,
By holineſs, not riches, gains reſpects;
Who is all that he would have others be,
From wilful ſin, though not from frailty free;
Who ſtill keeps Jeſus in his heart and head,
Who ſtrives in ſteps of our Arch Prieſt to tread,
Who can himſelf and all the world deny,
Lives pilgrim here, but denizen on high!"

The age in which we live is cold and Eraſtian, to ſay the leaſt. Men ſhrink from the noble boldneſs of a fervent zeal. The fire of the altar ſtill burns dim, and ſpiritual affections have not yet pierced the clouds that for a century and a half have obſcured in the Church of England the light of a living faith. It may be, therefore, that Ken's ſaintly character will fail to awaken in us any vivid intereſt. Glimmerings there are, however, of a brighter dawn, and the tokens of God's returning preſence in His Church. He has raiſed up, within our time, a new order of men, who amidſt the ſcorn and oppoſition of a wayward world partake of the aſpirations of a primitive piety like that of Ken. The hearts of their flocks begin to kindle from their fervour. We heartily pray that God may ſpeed them, and keep them all ſteadfaſt and immoveable to the

Church of England, into which they have been baptized, to the glory of His great Name Whom they ſerve.

We are able to give one example at leaſt of the permanent influence of Ken's paſtoral life on that of his brethren. Next to his Pariſh of Woodhay is Highclere, in Hampſhire. Here lived a village Prieſt, a humble ſchoolmaſter, whoſe name is ſcarcely reſcued from oblivion. His courſe was like a hidden ſtream, fertilizing the banks along which it flows, and traced by the rich herbage and the flowers that ſpring beſide it. His Rectory was worth a hundred pounds a year; —"the country barren and the people poor:"* and there he tended his little flock for thirty nine years.† He was not remarkable for the auſterity of his life, or for any rare endowments of mind, though learned in the Hebrew and Greek languages. Of ſimple manners, and with a gentle and obliging temper that never loſt him a friend, or made him an enemy, he was ſo indulgent to the faults of others, that "he would often riſe up and leave the company, rather than hear even a bad man reproached behind his back; ſo hoſpitable, that he uſed to be much diſpleaſed if any poor perſon was ſent from his houſe without taſting a cup of his ale."‡

Even the way-worn "pedlars were always welcome to him, and relieved of their packs, and lodged for the

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* An Account of the Life and Converſation of the Reverend and worthy Mr. Iſaac Milles, late Rector of Highclere, in Hampſhire, 8vo. 1721, p. 70.

† Ibid. p. 82.

‡ Ibid. p. 131.

night in his barn, when he would himſelf ſometimes take care that they had clean ſtraw, and enough of it, and eat and drink as much as they pleaſed with his ſervants."* "No beggar, or other perſon in want, came to his door for relief, who did not receive there an alms, either of money, or victuals, or clothes, and ſometimes of all." Though he was often, from the guileleſſneſs of his heart, deceived by bad men, "he valued it not," nor allowed himſelf to be weary in well doing.

While thus generous to needy ſtrangers, he was the common father of his own pariſhioners, and eſpecially "a conſtant viſitant by the bed-ſide of the ſick and dying," adminiſtering ſpiritual and temporal comfort to all. For their ſakes "he turned a perfect beggar, in order to get from others ſomething to ſupply their wants;" ſo that both parties might be enriched, the receiver here, the giver hereafter; and "he always added what he could from his own little ſtock, but concealed his portion,"† that he might appear the happy almoner of others. Theſe were the rich fruit that a good man bringeth forth out of the good treaſure of his heart,—Chriſtian graces, works of love—the ſweeteſt incenſe that can be offered up to Heaven.

Nor did theſe labours, and his conſcientious care of his ſcholars, prevent his conſtant ſtudy of the holy Scriptures (which he uſed to read in the original languages) or hinder his life of prayer: for beſides his family devotions "*he uſed to walk every day in the*

* Life and Converſation of Mr. Iſaac Milles, p. 131.

† Ibid. p. 132.

week to read the ſervice in the Pariſh Church." Such was his humility that "he was then his own clerk, tolling the bell himſelf, and doing everything elſe, before the few people that frequented thoſe prayers were come together, which it was the buſineſs of the clerk to do."* It may be added that he had ſo moving and pathetic a way of preaching, that "the people came from the neighbouring pariſhes round about," to liſten to him. For this he would reprove them, and tell them to ſtay at home, and go to their own churches;† but they could more eaſily obey any other of his commands than this.

Such was Mr. Iſaac Milles, the ſimple-hearted Rector of Highclere. Though never raiſed to any higher preferment, he was in one particular bleſſed even beyond King David, who was not permitted to witneſs his ſon Solomon's high privilege of building the Holy Temple: whereas Milles lived to ſee his eldeſt ſon conſecrated to the office of a Biſhop in the Church of his Heavenly Maſter, Whom he had himſelf ſo faithfully ſerved in a humbler ſtation.

This account of the Parſon of Highclere might ſeem a digreſſion, but that he was mainly animated to ſo zealous a fulfilment of his duties by the well-known example of Ken in the ſame miniſtries of charity at the next village of Woodhay. Ken had preceded him but a few years; and we are told that Mr. Milles "admired him beyond all others in the Church of Chriſt,

* Life and Converſation of Mr. Iſaac Milles, p. 137.
† Ibid. p. 79.

and so greatly esteemed of him, that he never spoke of him without being in raptures of veneration for him."* He had, moreover, the highest opinion of Ken's writings. "He considered his Practice of Divine Love to be a most divine exposition of the Church catechism, and thought it was the best book that ever was committed to writing, next to the Holy Scriptures."† "He was so great an admirer of this commentary on our Catechism, whereby it is turned into a method and exercise of sublime devotion, that he taught his children, his scholars, and his servants, the practice of divine love by this writing of one, who had more of the spirit and life of it than most other men had. And he always obliged his scholars, every morning and every evening, and at noon day, to say on their knees the prayers of Bishop Ken, in his Directions for Prayer, taken out of the *Church Catechism*, annexed to this exposition."‡

He had heard from George Hooper (who succeeded Ken at Woodhay) many particulars of the Bishop's character; and Mr. Milles used to say of Hooper himself that, "of all clergymen he ever knew there was none, in whom all the three characters of the perfect gentleman, the thorough scholar, and the venerable skilful divine, met in so high and great a perfection as in him;" which verified the prediction of Dr. Busby respecting him. And he said that "he was a public blessing to that country, and to the Clergy thereabouts; and by his sweet and obliging deport-

* Life and Conversation of Mr. Isaac Milles, p. 119.
† Ibid. p. 119. ‡ Ibid. p. 120.

ment, not only gained the entire affections of all; but ſet an example by the imitation of which they might greatly have advanced the intereſt of our poor Church."*

Ken's duties as Fellow of Wincheſter College, and his Prebend in the Cathedral, might alone have induced his return to Wincheſter: but when to theſe were added the ſociety and guidance of ſuch a man as Biſhop Morley, we cannot wonder at his accepting the invitation to be more immediately about his perſon. This learned and ſelf-denying Prelate, who lived as if for others rather than himſelf, was a bright example of loyalty in perilous times. In 1646 he had been ſelected by Charles I. with Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderſon, and Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, to attend him as a council of advice in his conferences with the Parliamentary Commiſſioners for a peace in Church and State. In the following year he was one of the Delegates appointed by the Univerſity of Oxford to draw up their Reaſons for not ſubmitting to the League and Covenant, Negative Oaths, and other Ordinances of the Parliament.

He had rendered himſelf obnoxious to the Republicans by his conſtancy to his friend, the loyal and brave Lord Capel, not ſhrinking from attendance upon him even to the ſcaffold. Capel had been taken priſoner by the rebels at the ſiege of Colcheſter, with Lord Lucas and Sir George Liſle. When his two companions were condemned to be ſhot, he petitioned in vain that he alſo might receive a ſoldier's honourable death. He was reſerved for a public trial

* Life and Converſation of Mr. Iſaac Milles, p. 93.

and execution, at both of which he behaved with an undaunted bearing. To the last he declared his readiness to die for the King's service, and for that Church, in whose bosom he was born and bred, and which he thought to be the best in the world.* He desired his heart to be enclosed in a silver box, and at some future time to be laid in the tomb at the feet of his Royal Master. Morley was one of the few who bore him company, fearless of all consequences to himself, that he might minister strength and consolation to his friend in the hour of need.†

Notwithstanding this, and his known attachment to the Royal cause, when the Republican visitors came to Oxford, Morley had an offer from a secret friend, "one of the Grandees of the House of Commons," to retain his Canonry of Christ church, without being compelled to say or subscribe any thing against his conscience, if he would but give his word not to appear against them or their proceedings. Izaak Walton was the bearer of this message, being desired to write to Morley, and recommend him "to ride out of Oxford, when the visitors came, and not return till they left it, and he should be sure then to return in safety, and should, without taking any oath, or other molestation, enjoy his Canon's place in his College." Morley replied that he could not accept the intended kindness; "for when the Dean, Dr. Gardner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Sanderson, and all the

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* Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion.

† Excellent Contemplations, &c. of Arthur, Lord Capel, with some account of his life. 12mo. 1683, p. 142.

reſt of the College (including Mr. John Fell) were turned out, except Dr. Wall, he ſhould take it to be, if not a ſin, yet a ſhame, to be left behind with him only."*

After the King's death, Morley retired to Holland to attend on Charles II., and was one of his moſt faithful adherents during the exile. For many years ſucceſſively at Antwerp, the Hague, and Breda, "he *read the ſervice of the Church twice every day*, catechized once a week, and adminiſtered the Communion once a month to all the Engliſh who would come to it, without receiving or expecting any reward."†

Mr. Bowles imagines that Dr. Morley, after his rejection from Chriſt church, and the death of the King, ſought a refuge from his perſecutors in Walton's cottage, in Staffordſhire. He gives a pleaſing converſation, in which he ſuppoſes the two friends may have comforted each other amid the dark tempeſt of the times. The ſcene is laid in the ſmall garden plot, before the door of the cottage, not far from Stafford. It is a beautiful evening in ſpring, and Izaak, juſt returned from angling, finds his beloved Kenna (Ken's ſiſter) and their child, and Dr. Morley, ſeated in a honey-ſuckle arbour. After ſome diſcourſe on the death of the Royal Martyr, and Morley's intention to join Charles II. in Holland, they take affectionate leave of each other, and Morley promiſes never

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* Walton's Life of Sanderſon: and Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 770.

to forget the happy and improving hours he had spent in this retirement.*

Sir Harris Nicolas, the careful biographer of Walton, says "it is always painful to destroy the fabrics of genius; but biography is not a proper field for the flights of poesy; and however pleasing might be such an episode in the life of Walton, as his having afforded shelter to the venerable Morley, in his adversity, contrasting, as it would forcibly have done, with Walton's having passed the latter years of his life in the episcopal residences of that eminent person, it must nevertheless be said that there is no evidence that Morley ever visited Walton in Staffordshire, or that he was indebted to him for any particular services."†

The esteem of such a Prelate conferred an honourable distinction on his Chaplain, which is now reflected back on Morley's name in the brighter rays of Ken's lustre. Their friendship was cemented by a mutual attachment to Izaak Walton (then in his 80th year) the humble guest of the Bishop, and the venerable friend of his Chaplain. The Palace at Winchester was not very long enlivened by the presence of the other Chaplain, George Hooper; "for Archbishop Sheldon dining one day at Chelsy with the Bishop, told him he had a request to make him, which was to give him something he valued, or to that effect. On the Bishop's telling his Grace that it should be at his

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* Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. i. p. 97.

† Preface to Pickering's Edition of Walton and Cotton's Complete Angler.

ſervice, the Archbiſhop then told him it was his Chaplain, Mr. Hooper, who he was very ſorry to part with, but expreſſed great willingneſs to do it, as he thought it would be for the good of the Church, and an advantage to Mr. H., who accordingly removed to Lambeth Houſe. Biſhop Morley ever retained a great regard for him, inſomuch that he ſent for him to attend him on his death bed."* In this laſt office, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, he was aſſiſted by Ken. They were thus united in miniſtering once more to their ſpiritual father, whoſe departure from this world, though it diſcharged them from the bond of a common duty towards him, did not diſſolve their friendſhip. For, as brethren in the ſervice of a heavenly Maſter, they are for ever part of an innumerable hoſt. An undefinable and myſterious communion knits them together with the ſpirits of ſaints, with angels, and with Chriſt Himſelf, who died to exalt them to His heavenly court. All in every place have the ſecret witneſs that as they are one in the gift of life, ſo their thoughts, their hopes, their fears, their burthens and rejoicings, are united before the eternal Throne.

The ſtate of the Church of England at this period preſented fearful ſymptoms of a decay that encreaſed as time went on. It was therefore a great benefit to Ken to have the counſel of ſuch a Prelate, after whoſe example he might ſafely model his own miniſtry. Biſhop Morley was inceſſant in all the duties of his public and private life, in prayer and faſting, in works of mercy to the poor, of munificence for the benefit

* MSS. Life of Hooper, by Mrs. Prowſe.

and dignity of his ſucceſſors; ſimple in his manners, zealous for the honour of God, ſelf-denying amidſt a frivolous and diſſipated Court, vigilant, energetic, and bold in all difficulties and dangers.

In the ſame temper of mind Ken advanced to the ſame ſtation. His offices of Fellow of Wincheſter College, Prebendary of the Cathedral, and Chaplain to the Biſhop were not occupation enough for a mind intent on bringing men to Chriſt. He could not reſt without ſome parochial charge; and having before ſerved the neglected diſtrict of St. John in the Soke, he ſtill found it without a paſtor and the hearts of the people turned from the Church by the contentious ſpirit of Anabaptiſts. With the conſent of his Biſhop he undertook the gratuitous cure. His diſregard of money was a prominent feature in his character; the fulfilment of the paſtoral office was the one ſimple deſire that governed his actions,—"well done, good and faithful ſervant" the one reward he looked to.

To the poor of St. John's, therefore, he devoted his beſt energies. The influence of his love, and zeal, and knowledge of the human heart, were heightened by the fervour of his eloquence. If by any powers of the Chriſtian orator he might move men to holineſs, he would fain employ them all in the great cauſe. He did not therefore undervalue this accompliſhment; but followed the footſteps of the moſt pious and laborious Fathers and confeſſors of the primitive Church. Their impaſſioned oratory was not addreſſed to the feelings of their hearers to rouſe them to mere religious excitement, and tranſient impulſe, but to ſever their tenacious graſp on worldly things,—to call them out

of the din of emulations and ſtrife, and the abſorbing cares of a ſecular life. Vehement, ſtern, perſuaſive, and loving, they alternately ſhook men "by the terror of the Lord," and melted them by the mercies and hopes of the Goſpel.

St. Chryſoſtom, whoſe eloquence was compared to a golden river, every where praiſes St. Paul for his ſkill in moving men's hearts to the fear and love of God. "Thus inſtructed," he ſays, "and walking in the ſteps of his maſter, Paul hath varied his diſcourſe according to the need of his diſciples, at one time uſing knife and cautery, at another applying mild remedies," &c. And thus alſo Ken omitted no force of perſuaſion to awaken his hearers from their dull inſenſibility, and to draw them out from ſin and ſchiſm. He reaped the rich reward of his labours in gathering many into the boſom of the Church.

If one might be tempted to give in its fulneſs his expoſition of the Sacrament of Baptiſm in his '*Practice of Divine Love*,' publiſhed many years afterwards, it would exhibit his view of its vital efficacy, and the power of his eloquence to bring men to a juſt ſenſe of its bleſſedneſs. There is not, perhaps, in our language a more valuable teſtimony to the doctrine of Regeneration in that Holy Sacrament, as "raiſing us from a death unto ſin, to a new life, and breathing into us the breath of love." "In this Laver of Regeneration (he ſays) we are born again by Water and the Spirit; by a new birth unto righteouſneſs: that as the natural birth propagated ſin, our ſpiritual birth ſhould propagate grace. Chriſt in our Baptiſm doth give us the holy ſpirit of love, to be the principle of a

new life in us, to infuse into our souls a supernatural, habitual grace, and ability to serve and love Him. It was His compassionate love, that when we were conceived and born in sin, of sinful parents, when we sprung from a root wholly corrupt, and were all children of wrath, made us, in our Baptism, children of His own Heavenly Father by adoption and grace: when we were heirs of Hell, made us heirs of Heaven, even joint heirs with His own self of His own glory." *

The inhabitants of the Soke crowded to the Church of St. John, to hear the words of wisdom that flowed from the lips of their humble Curate, as in a later period, when he became a Bishop, the Courtiers of the palace thronged the Chapel of St. James's to receive his more authoritative lessons. The word of God cannot return to Him void; His Kingdom must in the end stretch forth on the right hand and on the left, for they have a spiritual life. Ken was the happy instrument of contributing to this great design of unity by converting many of his sectarian hearers to the Church of England, especially amongst the Anabaptists, whom he convinced of their errors, making them to become as little children, himself baptizing them into the congregation of Christ's flock.†

Such were his unwearied patience and charity in his pastoral cares; the kindest of men towards others, himself mortified to all worldly pleasures, and afraid of nothing so much as a soft luxurious life, he was

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* Ken's Exposition of the Church Catechism. 2nd Edition, 8vo. 1686, p. 136.

† Hawkins, p. 4.

diſciplined to untiring exertions for the ſpread of divine truth. He ſeemed to realize Biſhop Taylor's prayer: "Oh give me the ſpirit of mortification and humility, that I may be gentle to others, and ſevere to myſelf." His biographer, Hawkins, deſcribes that "in the evening, when he loved to enjoy the ſociety of his friends, he was ſo worn down with the exertions and fatigue of the day, that with difficulty he kept his eyes open; and then ſeemed only to go to reſt with no other purpoſe than the refreſhing and enabling him with more vigour and chearfulneſs to ſing his Morning Hymn."—"And that neither his ſtudy might be the aggreſſor on his hours of inſtruction; or what he judged his duty, prevent his improvement; of both interrupt his cloſet addreſſes to his God, he ſtrictly accuſtomed himſelf to but one ſleep, which often obliged him to riſe at one or two of the clock in the morning, and ſometimes ſooner; and this grew ſo habitual that it continued with him almoſt till his laſt illneſs."*

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* Hawkins, p. 5.

CHAPTER V.

Ken's Manual of Prayers for Winchester scholars — His Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymns — The Original Melody of the Hymns — The Court of Charles II. at Winchester.

WE may well believe that Ken, as a Winchester boy, had set a good example to others: and now, as a Fellow of the College, his desire to preserve the scholars from the fascinating power of the world, and to train them to holiness, prompted him to compose a *Manual of Prayers* for their daily use. He could not offer a more lasting memorial of his attachment to those early scenes of his youth, or of his care for future Wykehamists. It is a message to them of earnest love: it warns them of the deceitful pitfalls that surround their path, and allures them to virtue by every holy motive, and by the most eminent examples of early piety recorded in the scriptures. "Do but consider," he says, "how welcome a young convert is to God: it was to young Samuel that God revealed Himself, and that at such a time too, when the word of God was precious and very rare, to show how much God honoured a young prophet; and you know that St. John, the youngest of all the disciples, is the only person of all the twelve, who was permitted to lean on our Saviour's bosom at the last supper, as dearest to Him in affection, and who is emphatically called the disciple

whom Jeſus loved: and this is ſuitable to that gracious promiſe, which God made to encourage all young perſons to ſerve Him; *I love them that love Me; and they that ſeek Me early ſhall find Me.*"*

To all true Wykehamiſts this little book muſt be peculiarly attractive. It is ſo full of affectionate counſel, encouragement and perſuaſion, of prayers ſuited to the age and circumſtances of the ſcholars, that it could only be the work of one who had exhibited in his own perſon the example of a ſchool boy, dedicating his tender years to the ſervice of God. The whole Manual is a type of his own mind. For the morning, and the noonday, for the evening, and for midnight, he gives them devout ejaculations and prayers, ſolemn counſel, encouragement and warning. At every turn; "in their own chambers, in ſchool, in hall, in Chapel, on their firſt waking, at going to bed, before and after reading holy ſcripture, between firſt and ſecond peal, when they go *Circum*,† in temptation, after ſin committed, after any bleſſing or deliverance, at giving alms, before, and in, and after Church:" nothing eſcapes his earneſt deſire to make them heavenly minded. Above all he prepares them for the Holy Communion. He tells them they "muſt look through the outward elements, and fix their faith on that which they ſignifie, the inward and inviſible grace, even Chriſt's own bleſſed Body and Blood, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper, not to be carnally underſtood, for they are ſpirit and they are

* Manual, Ed. 1675, p. 2. † Ibid. p. 4.

life."* He teaches them to believe "His Body and Blood to be as really preſent in the Holy Sacrament as His divine power can make it, though the manner of His myſterious preſence they cannot comprehend;" and to ſay "the Bread we break and the Cup we drink are not bare ſigns only, but the real communication of Thy Body and Thy Blood, and pledges to aſſure me of it; and I verily believe that if with due preparation I come to Thy Altar, as certainly as I receive the outward ſigns, ſo certainly ſhall I receive the thing ſignified, even Thy moſt bleſſed Body and Blood."†

His biographers, except Mr. Markland, are inaccurate as to the date of this, his firſt publication. Hawkins ſays it was "compoſed and publiſhed about the time that Biſhop Morley made him his domeſtic Chaplain, and preſented him to the parſonage of Woodhay," which he intimates to have been in 1669. This is much too early; for it was certainly firſt printed two years after his reſignation of Woodhay, and his return to Wincheſter, when as Fellow of the College he obſerved the temptations to which the Scholars were expoſed. Wood dates it as late as 1681: this is equally incorrect; for we have now before us an edition of 1675, a ſmall 12mo. and this is not the earlieſt.

In Robert Clavel's "General Catalogue of Books printed ſince the dreadful Fire of London in 1666 to the end of Trinity term 1674," and at page 15, under

* Manual, p. 42. † Ibid. p. 43.

the head of "Divinity in large Octavo, price of each *6d.*" and quite at the end of the list, we have the following entry, "*A Manual of Prayers and Devotions for the use of the scollars at Winchester School, and all young people: printed for J. Martyn.*" This fixes the first publication in 1674. In the books of the Stationers' Company Charles Brome, on the 3rd of May 1680, entered a copy "entituled A Manual of Prayer for the use of the Schollars of Winchester *School:*" this we may presume was the third Edition. The Fourth appeared in 1681, and is that referred to by Wood: it is a small 12mo. being "for the use of the Scholars of Winchester *Colledge, and all other devout Christians.*"

The next edition we met with (also in 12mo.) is dated 1687: this was after he became Bishop, and when his opinions were held by all to be a high authority in doctrine. It is said in the title to be *Revised*, which expression deserves particular notice. Fortunately the Manual did not escape censure during the life of the Author. The Roman Catholics cited one passage as if it gave countenance to their Trent doctrine of the Invocation of Saints. I say fortunately, because it called forth a valuable testimony of his faithfulness to the belief of the Anglican Church. He introduces this revised Edition of 1687, by the following

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"Whereas a late Popish Pamphlet has injuriously affirmed that, in a Manual of Prayers for the use of the Scholars of Winchester Colledge, I have taught the Scholars of Winchester to invocate the whole Court of

Heaven, citing these words, page 93, "Help me, then, O ye blessed Host of Heaven," &c. I think myself obliged to declare that by that apostrophe, I did no more intend the Popish Invocation of Saints and Angels, than the holy Psalmist did, when he calls upon the Sun, Moon and Stars, Fire, Hail and Snow, &c. to praise God, Ps. 148; and to prevent all future misinterpretations, I have altered, not the sense, but the words of that paragraph, and I do solemnly profess that I believe the Invocation of Saints and Angels, as it is practised in the Church of Rome, to be "*a fond thing, vainly invented, grounded on no warranty of scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God,*" as the XXII Article of the Church of England styles it, to whose judgment I humbly submit.

THO. *Bath and Wells.**

The original and revised passages, when collated, will show the subject of the "injurious" criticism, and its explanation.

Ed. 1681.	1687 Revised.
"Help me, then, O blessed Host of Heaven to celebrate that unknown sorrow, that wonderful Love which you yourselves so much admire, help me to praise my crucified Saviour."	"O ye blessed Host of Heaven, who rejoice at the conversion of one single sinner, adore and praise my crucified Saviour, who dyed for the sins of the world; adore and praise that unknown sorrow, that wonderful Love, which you yourselves must needs admire."

* This Edition of 1687 appears to be the first published with his name.

Thus the Roman Catholic writers of the day gained nothing by their attempt to appropriate Ken's authority to their errors. He never relaxed his ſtedfaſt adherence to the doctrines he ſolemnly profeſſed on entering Holy Orders. No one could have a keener perception of the difference between ſupplicating the Angels, and believing that they have received a holy charge to tend the flock of the "Good Shepherd." Whilſt he repudiated the former as a fond thing, he knew that "the ſervices of angels have been ordained and conſtituted in a wonderful order," and that the Church prays to God that "they may by His appointment ſuccour and defend us on earth."* This comfortable and bleſſed doctrine is fully enunciated throughout his hymns and other poems. To give only one example out of many;—in his "*Hymns for all the Feſtivals of the year*" that on St. Michael and all Angels† may ſuffice to ſhow how habitually he realized their unſeen preſence, as a link in the chain of communion between God and man. He deſcribes them as living in the beatific light of the heavenly ſpheres; their pure wills, and unchangeable love, their untiring zeal, expreſſed in hymns ſung to their celeſtial lyres; their conqueſts over Satan and his fallen angels; their attendance on Abraham, Lot, Elijah, Daniel, &c., on Chriſt in the wilderneſs, in his agony, &c.;

> "You kept the grave, where He repoſed;
> His glorious riſing you diſcloſ'd;

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* Collect for the Feſtival of St. Michael and all Angels.

† Ken's Poems, vol i. p. 384.

You to the mountain went,
Attending His Aſcent,
You ſhall the trump to Judgement ſound,
And with obſequious wings the Judge ſurround."

They miniſtered to St. Peter and St. Paul, and now are faithful guides to all devout worſhippers. They join with our aſſemblies in prayer and hymns :

" You in God's houſe *Triſagions* ſing,
You veil your rays with awful wing,
Our temples you frequent,
Devotion to foment,
God's boundleſs wiſdom there to hear,
Myſterious truths to learn, and to revere."

He affirms that they are cognizant of all our ways, chide our neglect, animate our hearts to holy love, aſſiſt and befriend us in temptation, glory in our converſion, and encircle the beds of ſaints. They befriend the Church of Chriſt, as ready watchers to counterwork the evil influence of the great Uſurper and his legions, who conſpire to delude, beguile, and pollute mankind. They always behold, and adore, and love, and hymn the Lamb ; fly to execute His decrees on obdurate ſinners, to encourage the devotions of believers, and in all our neceſſities diſpenſe their heavenly aid.

" To work our bliſs, to guard from woe,
You the expanſe paſs hourly to and fro.
You on the heirs of Heaven attend,
To comfort, counſel, warn, defend.
You in their infant-age
To tender them engage.
You quicken ſaints who grow remiſs,
And you at death tranſport their ſouls to bliſs."

As a crowning proof of his affection for Wincheſter

ſcholars Ken compoſed three hymns for their Morning, Evening, and Midnight hours, which he deſires they will be ſure to ſing in their chambers devoutly, "remembering that the Pſalmiſt, upon happy experience, aſſures you that it is a good thing to tell of the loving kindneſs of the Lord early in the morning."

It has been erroneouſly ſuppoſed that the three Hymns were always printed with the early Editions of the Manual. But they do not appear in any of the firſt four, already cited, nor in that of 1692. They are firſt found in a copy of 1700, and are thus noticed in the title, "A Manual of Prayers, &c. to which is added Three Hymns, for *Morning*, *Evening*, *and Midnight;* not in the former Editions by the ſame Author."

Five years after this appeared a book, entitled "A Conference between the Soul and Body, concerning the Preſent and Future State."* The management of the Conference, "approved and recommended to the world by the learned Mr. Dodwell," is not worthy of the ſubject: but to give the ſecond edition a greater zeſt, the publiſher added "Morning and Evening HYMNS, by the Right Reverend Dr. *KEN*, Bp. of Bath and Wells." Strange liberties were taken with the true verſion: many of the ſtanzas were new-modelled, and ſpoiled, ſome wholly omitted, and others not in the original verſion, added. Accordingly in the next Edition of the Manual, the Biſhop's publiſher produced the Hymns again with this "*Advertiſement;*" "Whereas at the end of a book lately

* 8vo. 1705. Attributed to Mr. Henry Nicholſon.

publish'd, called a Conference between the Soul and Body, there are some Hymns, said to be writ by Bishop KEN, who absolutely *disowns* them, as being very false and incorrect; but the genuine ones are to be had only of *Charles Brome*, Bookseller, whose just propriety the original copy is."* —Thus it was the fate of the three Hymns, even in Ken's lifetime, to appear in a mutilated shape; and they have continued ever since to receive the same usage, being altered or curtailed in a greater or less degree to suit every taste.†

It has long been a question to what tunes these Hymns were set and sung in the lifetime of Ken. The music in present use for the *Morning* Hymn is a corrupt version of the tune composed by Barthelomon, (a violin player of the last century) being now encumbered with modern grace notes, inconsistent with the solemnity of devotional music.

The *Evening* Hymn was originally set to a melody composed by Tallis: this has been still more distorted from its ancient simplicity. Mr. Bowles thinks all the three, for the Morning, Evening, and Midnight, being of the same metre, were adapted by Ken himself to this tune: Hawkins intimates that he was accustomed to sing them to his own tunes, for "he had an excellent genius, and skill in music; and whenever he had con-

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* This is repeated in the Edition of 1712. 12mo. Two years after Ken's death.

† It is 70 years since the 31st Edition of the Manual was printed: at least 50 Editions of the Hymns have now appeared, yet not one is to be found that follows strictly the Bishop's own version. It will not, therefore, be uninteresting to see them in the Appendix, (A) word for word as he penned them.

venient opportunities for it, he performed ſome of his devotional part of praiſe with his own compoſitions, which were grave and ſolemn." And we have ſeen how he "ſeem'd to go to reſt with no other purpoſe than the refreſhing and enabling him with more vigour and cheerfulneſs to ſing his Morning Hymn, as he then uſed to do to his lute, before he put on his clothes."* Thus his genius for muſic, like every other gift and endowment, was dedicated to God's glory. In the midſt of an evil world his whole life was one continued act of prayer and praiſe. Our intereſt in the Hymns would be heightened by believing that he ſung them to his own melodies, like George Herbert, whoſe "chiefeſt recreation was muſic, in which heavenly art he was a moſt excellent maſter, and did himſelf compoſe many divine hymns and anthems, *which he ſet and ſung to his own lute or viol.*"† Biſhop Sanderſon alſo was a lover of muſic, and was wont to play on his baſe viol, and alſo to ſing to it.‡

Mr. Bowles is correct in ſuppoſing Tallis to have been the original author of the melody to which the Evening Hymn was adapted; but he has fallen into an error as to the muſic itſelf. He mentions, as his authority, "a very old Collection of Pſalms in the 16th century" (for 16th read 17th) meaning "*The whole Booke of Pſalms, with the Hymns Evangelical*, by Thomas Ravenſcroft, 1633," from the 260th page of which he gives a tranſcript of "An Hymn by Tho. Tallis for

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* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 5. † Walton's Life of Herbert.

‡ Aubrey's Letters, Vol. ii. p. 523.

four Voices in A.* But the learned researches of Mr. Havergal † have traced the origin to a source of greater interest, and of much earlier date. He says "the Canon must have been composed by Tallis long before Ravenscroft was born: in fact his is an altered and a shortened version of No. 8 of Tallis's tunes for Archbishop Parker's metrical translation of the Psalms, ‡ with many faulty consecutives. It was long ago suspected that Ravenscroft inserted it for the sake of garnishing his Volume with Tallis's name."

Some have thought that the original melody might be still earlier than Tallis, and be found in the collection of Luther, or of Clement Marot. But Mr. Havergal, whose authority is not to be questioned, has no doubt of its being composed by Tallis. There is no resemblance to it in any of the tunes of Luther, published by Winterfeld; nor can it be recognized in the melodies of Guillaume Franc, or Claude le Jeune. He possesses the only known copy extant of the hymn book of the Bohemian Brethren, printed at Ulm 1538, and the tune is not there, nor in any continental collection. He has favoured me with the following account of the successive corruptions from the original in the Archbishop's Psalter down to the present.

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* Bowles's Life of Ken, Vol. ii. p. 17.

† The Rev. W. H. Havergal, Rector of St. Nicolas' Worcester, and Honorary Canon of Worcester Cathedral.

‡ "The whole Psalter translated into English metre, which contayneth an hundred and fifty Psalms. Imprinted at London by John Daye." Without date. A correct version of the music will be found in Appendix B.

"Firſt, Ravenſcroft's faulty conſecutives: theſe Francis Timprell has copied in his '*Collection of Pſalm tunes*' about 1723, again reprinted in the '*Harmonia Perfecta*' 1730, where the tune is given as a 'Long metre ſingle' and is called a Canon, but without words: ſhortly afterwards, probably in 1732, Pearſon printed it in his '*Harmonious Companion, or Pſalm Singer's Magazine*,' where at page 235 may be found 'an Evening Hymn, a Canon; two in one;' this again is Ravenſcroft's verſion of Tallis's muſic, and is adapted to the words of the 1ſt, 2nd and 4th ſtanzas of Ken's Evening Hymn, beginning 'All praiſe to Thee, my God, this night.'*

"But the great corrupter of Ravenſcroft's inaccurate verſion was John Weſley! In 1742 he publiſhed a '*Collection of Tunes, as they are commonly ſung at the Foundery*,'—a book now of ſuch rarity that Mr. Havergal conſiders his copy to be unique. The tune is not in parts, but a ſimple melody, taken moſtly from the Tenor, and ſet to his well known Hymn,

> 'Jeſu, Thy Blood and Righteouſneſs
> My Beauty are, my glorious Dreſs.
> Midſt flaming Worlds in theſe array'd
> With joy ſhall I lift up my Head.' &c.

Not only the beginning, the middle and ending are altered, but the very ſtructure of the tune is changed. From this time corrupted verſions of the muſic became

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* "It is not printed in any of Playford's Volumes; nor in the *Pſalm Singer's Companion*. Playford has only a Morning Hymn, ſet to other muſic, and beginning, 'Now that the day ſtar doth ariſe,' but no Evening Hymn."

common, especially by Dissenting Editors: one of them, C. Ashford, in 1766 descended a step lower than Wesley; and was soon followed by sundry inconsiderable writers of Psalm-tune books, each in succession copying from his predecessors, and adding some additional corruption of his own, down to the end of the last century: since which, in various collections, and under different names, the melody (if such it may now be called) has been perpetuated in its present mutilated shape."

The History of this tune is an illustration of the general decay of music in our Church services—ending in a wide departure from the primitive model. It may be hoped that a brighter period is coming, when Church music will be restored to its due solemnity, and Ken's Hymns be gravely and simply sung to the original melody. His musical skill must have been eminently useful in the revival of the long neglected anthems and choir services of Winchester Cathedral. Bishop Morley had already in part replaced what fanatics had destroyed during the Rebellion. The windows and defaced ornaments were now repaired, the chancel again raised, and the altar table restored to its former place against the eastern skreen.* We may believe that Ken contributed all in his power to this restoration. His generous disposition prompted his ready hand in furtherance of every work for the honour of his divine Master. Hawkins says,† "as soon as his circumstances would permit, he gave upwards of an hundred pounds to New College, Oxford, as a small acknowledgement for his education, and towards erecting their new build-

* Milner's Hist. of Winchester, vol. i. p. 423. † Life of Ken, p. 3.

ing." His name alſo appears among the contributors to the College Library at Wincheſter, to which he gave thirty pounds, and ſeveral ſcarce books.

He continued to cultivate his taſte for muſic both on the lute and the organ; and there is a tradition in the Fenwicke family that, in his viſits to Hallaton in Leiceſterſhire, after he was Biſhop, he uſed to ſing his Hymns to the accompaniment of the ſpinet.* For many years after his death his own organ remained in his room at Wincheſter, over the third chamber in the College.† It uſed to afford him a pleaſing relaxation after the labours of the day. No doubt he would ſometimes join in this innocent recreation among his friends in Wincheſter, as he uſed to ſing his part at Anthony Wood's ſocial muſic-meetings in Oxford.‡ For in the midſt of his mortified life, ſtrictly accuſtoming himſelf to but one ſleep, and often riſing at one or two o'clock in the morning, "he was ſo lively and cheerful in his temper, that he would be very facetious and entertaining to his friends in the evening."§

In this he reſembled the great St. Baſil, whoſe fearleſs intrepidity overawed the Roman Præfect, and for

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* A ſmall harpſicord. † Bowles, vol. ii. p. 283.

‡ So George Herbert, "though he was a lover of retiredneſs, yet his love to muſic was ſuch, that he went uſually twice every week on certain appointed days, to the Cathedral Church in Saliſbury; and at his return would ſay 'That his time ſpent in prayer, and cathedral muſic, elevated his ſoul, and was his heaven upon earth.' But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would uſually ſing and play his part at an appointed private muſic-meeting; and, to juſtify this practice, he would often ſay, 'religion does not baniſh mirth, but only moderates and ſets rules to it.'"—*Walton's Life of Herbert.*

§ Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 5.

awhile arrested the Emperor Valens in his persecution. His heart was warm with the charities of life. Stern in rebuking vice, he was affable and familiar with his friends. "Who made himself more amiable than he to the well-conducted? or more severe when men were in sin? whose very smile was many a time praise, whose silence a reproof, punishing the evil in a man's own conscience? If he was not full of talk, nor a jester, nor a holder forth, nor generally acceptable from being all things to all men, and showing good nature, what then? is not this his praise, not his blame, among sensible men? Yet, if we ask for this, who so pleasant as he in social intercourse? Who could tell a story with more wit? Who could jest so playfully? Who could give a hint more delicately, so as neither to be overstrong in his rebuke, nor remiss through his gentleness?"*

Ken indeed was remarkable for the grace of Christian urbanity. With all his reverential sense of the sacredness of the priestly office, he could temper the gravity of his demeanour with a pleasantness of address that won the confidence of those he would fain bring "into captivity to the obedience of Christ." The revelation of the Gospel is from the God of Love, and they who preach its mysteries are to exhibit in their lives its corresponding qualities. All the visible perfections of His creatures, all the tender sympathies implanted in the heart of man, speak of His attribute of Love. The very angels, notwithstanding their nearer view of His perfections, yet sympathize with the weaknesses of

* Church of the Fathers, p. 87.

their "fellow-ſervants." Was not the love of our compaſſionate Saviour exemplified in His whole life on earth? He ſet that example which St. Peter recommends for our imitation: "be pitiful, be courteous." His ineffable dignity was tempered by ſo divine a condeſcenſion, His exalted preſence by a graciouſneſs ſo meek and gentle, that He exhibited the harmonious perfection of His two-fold Nature in their higheſt attributes of Majeſty and Love.

The learned and charitable Dr. Hammond uſed to ſay "he delighted to be loved, not reverenced; thinking that when there was much of the latter, there could not be enough of the former; ſomewhat of reſtraint and diſtance attending on the one, which was not well conſiſtent with the perfect freedom requiſite to the other."*

George Herbert alſo acted on the ſame principle. He ſays, "The Country Parſon is generally ſad, becauſe he knows nothing but the croſs of Chriſt; his mind being defixed on it with thoſe nails wherewith his maſter was. Or, if he has any leiſure to look off from thence, he meets continually with two moſt ſad ſpectacles, ſin and miſery; God diſhonoured every day, and man afflicted. — Nevertheleſs, he ſometimes refreſheth himſelf, as knowing that nature will not bear everlaſting droopings, and that pleaſantneſs of diſpoſition is a great key to do good: not only becauſe all men ſhun the company of perpetual ſeverity; but alſo for that, when they are in company, inſtruction ſeaſoned with pleaſantneſs both enter ſooner, and root deeper.

* Fell's Life of Hammond.

Wherefore he condescends to human frailties, both in himself and others; and intermingles some mirth in his discourses occasionally, according to the pulse of the hearer."*

So Ken considered himself a messenger of the Gospel of love; his experience of human nature taught him that men were to be allured, rather than driven from the transitory objects of this lower life to sublime and spiritual affections. He did not think it unbecoming his holy office to draw their regard to himself personally, if by contemplating the features of a Christian character they might be led to place their higher love on God.

Being in attendance on Bishop Morley, these and his other eminent qualities began to bring him to the notice of the King. Winchester, from its healthy situation, its extensive downs, and at that time the finest sporting country in England, often attracted Charles II. to its neighbourhood. He made frequent progresses there with his court, on the way to Portsmouth, and for hunting excursions in the New Forest. His brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II. accompanied him, which probably sometimes gave Ken the society of his friend Francis Turner, the Duke's especial favourite and Chaplain.

But the presence of the Court, as we shall see, became an occasion of trial to the self-denying inmates of the Bishop's palace. Splendid pageants, luxurious feasts, the concourse of attendants, the busy carefulness and anxious waiting for the sunshine of royal favour, had no charms for Ken. His heart was engaged in

* Herbert's Country Parson.

higher aims. The ſaving of all-precious ſouls, and training them for the court of the King of kings was the one abſorbing idea that fixed his energetic will. Moreover the Court of Charles was one of the moſt profligate in Europe, that of France not excepted. In his exile at Bruſſels, Paris, &c. even when his father was ſuffering the bitterneſs of perſecution, and his death on the ſcaffold cauſed England to be an aſtoniſhment and a bye word to the nations, he had been given up to low ſenſual purſuits. After his Reſtoration alſo by a diſſolute life he ſet the worſt of examples to his people, and bequeathed to them a fearful legacy of profaneneſs and licenſe, that ſpread like a contagion to after times. The private hiſtories and memoirs of his life, and many volumes of letters from his courtiers and foreign miniſters, exhibit debauchery, drunkenneſs, gaming, profuſe oaths, and infidel wit, as the common and faſhionable vices of the age. He ſeemed to want all ſenſe of the reſponſibility of a nation's welfare intruſted to him, and forgot that kings hold a divine commiſſion which is to be exerciſed abſolutely and ſupremely for the glory of God. He gave himſelf up to the purſuit of ſelfiſh and debaſing pleaſures, falſely ſo called, that eat out as a canker the better affections of the heart. The hardihood with which he blazoned forth his profligacy to the world may be underſtood by the fact that of his numerous natural children, born of many mothers, he raiſed ſix to the honour of a Dukedom.

CHAPTER VII.

Ken makes the Tour of Italy with Isaak Walton's Son—At Rome in the year of Jubilee—Returns home—His attachment to the Church of England.

A NEW and refreshing scene opens to us, as we turn from the fearful picture of Charles's Court to the personal history of Ken. Having given to the Winchester scholars a Manual of prayers to sustain their devotion, he prepared himself for a journey through Italy, at that time (towards the end of 1675) the wealthiest and most populous country in Europe. By nature fertile in the various productions of the earth, abounding in the rare works of modern and ancient art, the nurse of music, of poetry, painting, and sculpture, and illustrious for men of science and literature, Italy formed the natural point of attraction for those whose taste impelled them to enlarge their experience beyond the shores of England. The Houses of English noblemen, even in this our luxurious age, cannot vie with the stately palaces of Doria, Farnese, Medici, Pitti, Colonna, Aldobrandini, Pamfili, Barberini, Borghese and others: their marble halls and galleries were decorated with unrivalled pictures and statues, and museums of precious ornaments and jewels, many of them now despoiled and scattered abroad.

The tour of Italy was an object of general intereſt and deſire, not eaſily attained in thoſe days, but thought to give the laſt finiſh to a gentleman of birth and fortune. Beyond all this, the policy, diſcipline, and doctrines of the Court and Church of Rome had long formed a theme of diſcuſſion in England. The hopeleſs janglings to which controverſy always gives riſe were aggravated by the prejudices of various ſects and parties. Every ſhade of difference ſeemed to diſcharge men from the obligations of common juſtice towards each other. Hence in great meaſure had ariſen, during the Rebellion, that diſcord which ſeemed to baniſh from the earth all the meek and lowly tempers, enjoined by the bleſſed Saviour on the Mount. They who adhered to the primitive doctrine and ceremonial of the Church were branded with the name of Papiſts. Sectarian fanaticiſm holding up religion as a cloak for perſecution, gave looſe to all the implacable paſſions of our nature.

With the Reſtoration the tide changed: but an intolerant ſpirit prevailed with thoſe now replaced in power; the ſectaries in their turn were oppreſſed, and forbidden the exerciſe of their worſhip. The Church recovered much of her temporal poſſeſſions, but not her ſpiritual rule. The bands of diſcipline were looſened; the pure ſervices of religion, long in diſuſe, were ſtill negligently performed by the clergy (many of whom had been ſeceders, and were now but outward conformiſts) and therefore diſregarded by the people. Added to this the King ſecretly deſired to reſtore the influence of the Church of Rome; an object conſtantly urged forward by the Duke of York. Charles was reſtrained

by motives of policy from implicitly following his advice; yet his own inclinations prompted him to all compliances within the verge of safety. It may be doubted if he had actually conformed to Rome: the evidence is not conclusive; but it is certain he would have done so, could he have ventured. To save appearances, he was often compelled to proclaim severe penalties against Romanists; but they were negligently enforced. He had long been a pensioner of Louis XIV. to whom he had bound himself by secret treaty, for the restoration of Popery in England. Whenever his personal necessities were most urgent, he applied to Louis for fresh advances, under plea that the interests of the Catholic Church required such aid. "After having passed a law, says Mr. Fox, to make it penal to affirm (what was true) that the King was a Papist, he pretended (what was not true) to be a zealous and bigoted Papist."

Coleman the Jesuit's letters to M. La Chaise may be selected from a mass of other evidence to show the hopes entertained of establishing the Roman ritual. "We have here a mighty work" (he says in 1675) "on our hands; no less than the conversion of three Kingdoms; and by that, perhaps, the subduing a pestilent heresy which has domineered over part of this northern world a long time. There was never such hopes of success, since the death of our Queen Mary, as now in our days, when God has given us a Prince who is become (I may say by miracle) zealous of being the author and instrument of so glorious a work. But the opposition we are sure to meet with is also like to be great: so that it imports us to get all the aid and as-

ſiſtance, for the harveſt is great, and the labourers are few."

Examples however were not wanting of Chriſtian love that teaches men to hold their opinions with courage, yet with meekneſs, neither yielding on the one hand, nor reviling on the other. Of this number was Ken; and probably with a view to judge of the Papacy, in the very ſeat of its power, he reſolved to viſit Rome. That he might give his nephew, young Iſaac Walton, the advantages of foreign travel, under his own watchful guidance, he made him the companion of his journey.

Clement X. had proclaimed the Catholic Jubilee (held every 25th year) to be celebrated with great ſplendour. Papal briefs were diſtributed to the prelates throughout all the provinces of Europe, enjoining them to more than ordinary zeal in training their flocks for the "happy effects" of the approaching ſolemnity. Independent of this great feſtival, which drew thouſands of pilgrims and devotees from every corner of Chriſtendom, other motives than curioſity might reaſonably prompt an earneſt and reverent man to the voyage of Italy. None could behold without a ſtirring of heart the Church of Milan, to which St. Ambroſe refuſed admiſſion to the Emperor Theodoſius, ſtained with the blood of the Chriſtians at Theſſalonica; nor the Chapel where St. Auguſtine, with his little Adeodatus, and his friend Alipius, received baptiſm, and from which St. Ambroſe and St. Auguſtine, on their proceſſion to the great Church, were ſuppoſed to have firſt ſung the Te Deum by reſponſes. Above all, Rome muſt ever preſent to us objects of great intereſt: ſhe had in earlier times been the centre of Catholic Communion, the

depoſitory (as St. Irenæus calls her) of the holy apoſtolical traditions and doctrines. Her ſoil, once bedewed with the blood of St. Peter and St. Paul, and countleſs other martyrs, treaſured the bodies of thoſe holy apoſtles, and of St. Philip, St. James, St. Simon, St. Jude, Polycarp, Gregory Nazianzen, Chryſoſtom, &c. She might ſtill glory in the Baſilica of St. John of the Lateran gate, ſaid to be pre-eminent over all other churches "urbis et orbis;" and the tomb of St. Peter within the unrivalled church that bears his name, the ſucceſſive work of Sangalla, Bramante, Baldaſſar, Michel Angelo, Della Porta, and Fontana.*

The two great routes to Italy were either by Bruſſels and Cologne, through Augſberg, Innſpruck, Trent, and ſo by Treviſo to Venice; or by Paris and the South of France. We have evidence as to which of theſe our travellers took. At that time the Netherlands were the ſeat of war, the whole country like an armed camp, and therefore impaſſable for travellers. Beſides, in the ſecond part of the Complete Angler, in reference to "young Maſter Iſaac Walton," Piſcator ſays "he has been in France, and at Rome, and at Venice, and I can't tell where," which ſeems clearly to indicate their route. In default of a Diary like that of Evelyn, who had made the ſame journey 30 years before, we muſt be content to put the travellers on horſeback, and leave them to their own reflections, until we give them the meeting at Rome. After Paris, their road lay through Avignon, Vaucleuſe, Marſeilles, and ſo to the ſhores of the Mediterranean.

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* Laſcelles' Voyage of Italy, 12mo. 1670, Vol. ii. p. 47.

In all their journeyings they overtook crowds of pilgrims, haſtening to the great Jubilee. Men and women of all claſſes and ranks, left the peaceful round of their domeſtic life and duties, and preſſed on from ſtage to ſtage towards the holy city. In every town and village, as they paſſed, the Churches were filled with the travellers, offering up prayers for a ſafe journey. The prieſts and other charitable perſons (invoked by the Pope to lend their aid) diſpenſed food, and afforded ſhelter. It was winter: the feſtival was to begin on Chriſtmas eve: and what can impede the zeal of earneſt hearts, panting for reconciliation with God! In all their ſufferings they animate one another with prayer and mutual charities; their patience unbroken, unwearied. Many faint by the way,—ſome are gathered to their reſt, and a lowly mound in the neighbouring church-yard is the only memorial of their haſty interment in a foreign land. The mournful ſurvivors receive the bleſſing of the miniſtering prieſt, and with tears again purſue their journey, till the brow of the laſt hill is gained, and the great Baſilica, the holy Zion of their intent longings, ſtands out before them! A cry of joy burſts from one to the other;—all eyes are ſtrained to catch a glimpſe of the ſurmounting Croſs. Whatever ſtraits or dangers have encompaſſed them, hardſhips, loſſes, ſufferings,—all are forgotten in this one joyous burſt of acclamation, "Roma la Santa." They deſcend into the Campagna—enter by the Flaminian way, and are at reſt. They await the appointed time when, at the opening of the Holy Gate of St. Peter, they ſhall enter in to receive from the Pope a plenary indulgence

in return for countless offerings to be poured into the treasury of the Church.*

This was promised to all who, being confessed and penitent, should within the year of Jubilee visit the Churches of St. Peter and St. Paul for fifteen days. Such numbers of people flocked from all countries to Rome that, during the greatest part of the year, there were reckoned no less than 200,000 strangers in succession. The author of the chronicle of Parma declares that the travellers on the Claudian road had the appearance every day of the march of an army. At the time of Ken's visit, indulgences had fallen in value, through the wider spread of the Reformation, and the exposure of their mercenary sale, so that the number of pilgrims was diminished. Still the concourse was very great. In the previous Jubilee of 1650, Lascelles† saw 9000 pilgrims entertained in one day in the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, the Pope himself, and many of the Cardinals, being there to wash their feet, and serve them at table. As the purchased pardons had been depreciated, the time required for the residence of pilgrims was shortened, and envoys were sent into the provinces to distribute indulgences. They who could not, or would not, travel, might give their alms at home, keeping Jubilee in the appointed Churches, which, by the authority of the Holy Father, should be of equal efficacy with gifts offered at the tomb of the Apostles.

The travellers having seen the wonders of Rome,

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* Appendix C. † Voyage of Italy, Vol. ii. p. 8.

again took horſe for England, through ſome of the faireſt provinces of Italy. The road to Venice would bring them by Narni, Terni, Spoleto, Aſſiſi, famous for the tomb of St. Francis, Tolentino, &c. "Venice the Rich" was at that time one of the moſt powerful cities of Europe, though now depreſſed and crumbling in decay, a vaſt ſepulchral monument of the inſtability of human grandeur. We would fain linger with them amidſt the palaces of the Venetian nobles, and the Church of St. Marc; and glide with them in their gondola beneath the Rialto and the Bridge of Sighs; —but it is time for Ken to be at home among his flock at Wincheſter. No doubt he had been with them in thought through all his journeyings, and longed to return, that he might once more feed them in the green paſtures, and fold them beſide the ſtill waters.

He little ſuppoſed that he was himſelf the ſubject of ſuſpicion at home, and looked upon as no faithful ſhepherd. But ſo it was; "for he loſt the favour of many of his former auditors, who ſuppoſed that by this journey he had been tinged with Popery." Wood declares that they were "altogether miſtaken."* We ſcarcely require this aſſurance: it was not likely his faith would ſtagger amid the corruptions he had witneſſed. The effect of his travels was to ſtrengthen him in his convictions of Rome's declenſion from Catholic truth. "He was often heard to ſay that he had great reaſon to give God thanks for his travels, ſince (if it were poſſible) he returned rather more confirmed of the purity of the

* Athæn. Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 989.

Proteſtant religion, than he was before."* A perſonal obſervation of the corruptions of the Church of Rome had produced the ſame effect on Robert Boyle. He obſerves, in the memoirs of his own travels, that he "never found the Pope leſs valued than in Rome, nor his religion fiercelier diſputed againſt than in Italy: and he ceaſed to wonder that the Pope ſhould forbid the ſight of Rome to Proteſtants, ſince nothing could more confirm them in their religion."†

Something there may be in the Roman theory to captivate ſenſitive and fervent minds, who find at home a confuſed ſtrife, relaxed diſcipline, and diſcordant clergy. Still our Mother Church, in whoſe boſom we have been regenerated, is a ſure point of reſt to humble and confiding men, who believe that Chriſt can and will pour His healing balm into her wounds. Faint of heart, and void of courage are they who cannot realize the joy of ſtedfaſtneſs, and patient waiting,—who think that God will not give His ſtrength to bear her up in her day of need. Surely it is His own Church, for which he endured the agony of the Croſs. St. John, and St. Peter, and all the glorious company of Apoſtles, the goodly fellowſhip of Prophets, and the noble army of Martyrs, are never weary of praying for her peace. To join in this would exemplify greater humbleneſs of mind, and a more abiding faith, than to magnify her defects, and yearn after another communion.

Certain it is that Ken's filial attachment to the Church of England ſuſtained him in his obedience amidſt all her confuſion. Her pure worſhip and ſervices were

* Hawkins's Life, p. 6. † Birch's Life of Robert Boyle.

ſadly neglected, her doctrines perverted, her moſt devoted miniſters held in ſuſpicion. He knew that her heavenly Maſter could in His own time bring her forth from the trial. He was always a moderator in religious diſputes; and becauſe he did not rail againſt an erring Church, he was accuſed of a leaning towards her doctrines. He could not ſhut his eyes to the fact that Rome had degraded the ſpirituality of Chriſt's Kingdom to a ſecular government,—from an inviſible power, not of this world, to a bold aſſumption of temporal rule.

But there is a wide difference between rejecting their errors, and holding the Romaniſts in abhorrence and ſcorn. Surely we all ſhare in the common name of Chriſtians, and have one faith in the ever-adorable Trinity. If we cannot partake in their worſhip, we may pray for them as our brethren; and even by contraſt with their miſplaced fervour, learn to mourn our own palſied devotion. If we condemn their penance and their pilgrimages, as works of merit, we muſt confeſs that they ſpring from a principle of earneſt faith; and it were well for Reformed England, if her clergy and laity would emulate the hardneſs which their's endure.

If Roman prieſts have celibacy and poverty bound upon them, and we have received no ſuch command, do not ours openly traffic in the cure of ſouls for their children's ſake? If they invocate the Bleſſed Virgin, and the holy Apoſtles, we ſeem almoſt to deny the Communion of Saints: neglecting and depreciating feſtivals appointed by the Church, which ſhould be to us joyful occaſions of prayer and thankſgiving, with the whole Church viſible and inviſible, "knit together in one com-

munion and fellowship, in the mystical body of Christ our Lord."* If their religion exceeds in ceremonial, we have well nigh given up the reverential solemnities of worship. If their Churches are gorgeous with images, and multiply altars, we suffer the damp walls and mouldering roofs of God's house to fall to decay, side by side with the lavish decorations of our own dwellings.

Ken clearly saw the perversions into which the English Church was then betrayed,—the Puritan extremes into which she was falling from a fierce antagonism to Rome. He perceived how she had relaxed her discipline, and almost forgotten the nature of a holy obedience: how every priest set up his own standard of conformity, as the measure of his doctrine and practice, with little or no regard to primitive antiquity, or the injunctions of his Diocesan; so that freedom of thought in matters of doctrine, and liberty of action in ecclesiastical order, came to be equally insisted on by the laity also.

Whoever attempted to restore a strictly uniform practice, or urged the real nature and efficacy of the Sacraments, or showed in his personal living a holy mortification, was accused of a design to introduce the superstitious formalism of Rome. Thus it was that Ken's regard to every ordinance of the Anglican Church, his ascetic life, and his deep sense of Christian mysteries, were taken at this time by many of his flock to be an indication of his leaning towards the Papacy. But

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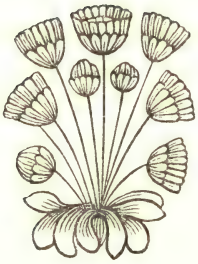
* "The Feasts and Fasts of the Church are happy days, set apart for the remembrance of God's love."

Ken's Exposition of the Catechism. Ed. 1686, p. 84.

he *lived down* theſe prejudices, zealouſly and conſiſtently ſetting forth in word and deed the harmonious doctrines of the Goſpel, and giving example of a ſtrict adherence to the Church, in times when ſhe was moſt in danger. He continued at Wincheſter three years after his return from Rome, purſuing the ſame ſtudious mortified life, the ſame unremitted labours to promote the ſpiritual advancement of all who lived within his ſphere.



CHAPTER VIII.

Early life of William Prince of Orange—Delivers Holland from the power of Louis XIV. His Marriage to the Princeſs Mary—Ken appointed Chaplain at the Hague—His faithfulneſs in the diſcharge of his office.

THE even tenor of Ken's life, and the enjoyment of the ſociety of Biſhop Morley, Iſaak Walton, and the Fellows of the College, were now for a time to be interrupted. He was called to a ſphere, leſs congenial to his taſtes, becauſe in the immediate circle of a Court, and in a foreign land. The duty aſſigned him, if not by the King, probably by the Duke of York, was the ſpiritual guidance of the Princeſs Mary, whoſe principles were thought to be in danger from the Preſbyterian influence of her huſband, William III. of Orange.

The Hiſtory of this Prince is ſo linked with Engliſh politics, and therein with the fortunes of Ken, that we cannot avoid ſome brief ſketch of his early life. In 1641 his mother, Princeſs Mary, daughter of Charles I. was married to William II. of the houſe of Orange. This union was brought about in an evil hour for the Stuarts, and in the end led to their extinction. The marriage was celebrated amid the tumults which hurried Strafford and Laud to the block, ratified the League and Covenant between the Scotch and Engliſh repub-

licans, and at length prepared the nation for the indelible crime of the King's death.

Mary loſt her huſband in 1650, and a few days afterwards (the 4th of November) gave birth to a poſthumous Prince, the future Stadtholder of Holland, and deſtined, as King of England, to wear the crown of her anceſtors. On the Reſtoration of her brother ſhe came to London to offer her congratulations, and to conciliate his protection of her ſon, then at the age of ten years, expoſed to the rule of republican guardians, and excluded from his family honours by an edict of the States. The impulſes of maternal affection, and of a ſound judgement, prompted her to this viſit, but ſealed her own fate. She died of the ſmall pox, and was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey, leaving her ſon, Prince William, to the harſhneſs and jealouſies of the De Witts, unmitigated by any ſympathy from Charles, who ought now to have proved himſelf his natural protector.

In 1670 Mary's ſiſter, the Ducheſs of Orleans, as deſigning as ſhe was beautiful, paid a viſit to England, at the inſtance of Louis XIV, that ſhe might concert a clandeſtine peace with Charles.

The objects of the treaty, were to engage Charles's co-operation in the ruin of Holland, his nephew's patrimony, and induce him to avow his adherence to the Church of Rome. The bribe was a diſhonourable penſion from France, and the promiſe of an armed force to render himſelf independent of his Parliament. The whole proved a ſignal failure. He had neither concern enough for religion to avow his apoſtacy from

the Church of England, until the hand of death was upon him, — nor sufficient courage to claim the proffered aid in establishing an absolute monarchy. So far the subjection of Holland being thus accomplished, the Stadtholder wrested the crown from his successor: so that Charles, who should have protected the young Prince, sold his kingly honour at a vile and valueless bargain.

The young Prince, descended from brave and patriotic ancestors, inherited their qualities. Reflective, discriminating, unimpassioned, resolved, — of a modest taciturn demeanour, — he was by nature of a sickly constitution, but habituated to hardships and fatigue; daring in valour, and above all animated with an ardent love for his country. Bereaved of both parents at an early age, he had been educated under the more than maternal care of his grandmother, Amelia, Princess of Solmes, a woman of superior endowments. By her example and precepts he acquired a force of mind, that afterwards rendered him one of the most distinguished princes of Europe.

His great rival, Louis XIV. was born to be at once the glory and the scourge of France. Returning from his baptism, which had been delayed till his fifth year, he visited the sick bed of his father to receive the parental blessing. "I rejoice, my son," said the dying king, "that you are made a Christian, and what is your name?" "My name," replied the boy, already corrupted by court-flatterers, but unconscious of the wound he inflicted, "is Louis XIV." It struck as an ill omen on the father's spirit: "Not yet, — not

yet," ſaid he, turning on the other ſide: but in three weeks the prophecy was fulfilled. Louis aſcended the throne in 1643.

It would be out of place to detail the conqueſts he achieved, and the ſucceſs that attended his diplomacy in all foreign countries. Never was a king ſupported by braver armies, or ſerved by more ſagacious and devoted miniſters in every court of Europe. He was trained up, from an early age, to a high capacity for political intrigue under the counſels of Mazarin, Colbert, and others.—Inſtructed in the art of war by the moſt celebrated generals of the age, and ſharing in their dangers and fatigues, he prepared himſelf to take the lead in vaſt deſigns, that for a time extended the bounds of France beyond all former precedent. The conqueſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands, and of the free ſtates of Holland, was a favourite object of his ambition. To "humble the pride of imperious Spain," and "to chaſtiſe the inſolence of thoſe upſtart Republicans who pretended to make laws for crowned heads," were thought to be legitimate enterpriſes, ſimply becauſe they tended to his own aggrandizement. It is to the latter only we have to addreſs ourſelves, as connecting the thread of our ſtory.

He opened the campaign againſt the United Provinces in 1672 with an army of about 100,000 men, commanded by the Duke of Orleans, the Prince de Condé, and Marſhal Turenne. His camp was attended by ambaſſadors, princes, nobles, and officers from all parts, as volunteers and witneſſes of the triumph of "the invincible monarch." The States and Cities of Holland were divided into political factions,

one headed by the De Witts, enthusiastic lovers of a Republic, the other favouring the Prince of Orange, whom the democrats had deprived of the office of Stadtholder, under a "Perpetual Edict" for the maintenance of liberty. In the midst of their contests they received intelligence that the enemy had effected at Tolhuis the brilliant passage of the Rhine, passing over sixteen squadrons of cavalry *à la nage* under the command of De Guiche,—a fearful augury of the fate of their country. It was one of the grandest spectacles in the history of war to see the whole French army drawn up in array on the opposite bank of the river to witness the success of that hazardous exploit, thought by Condé himself to be impracticable. Victory every where now attended the French arms: all Europe awaited the approaching downfal of the Republic.

Louis having advanced from one conquest to another, and made himself master of Utrecht, the States were compelled to send deputies to implore his clemency. Nothing less would satisfy the haughty monarch than their entire submission to his own terms, which would at once have sealed their dishonour and their ruin. He even demanded that the Provinces should send him every year an extraordinary embassy, with a gold medal, as an acknowledgment of their vassalage.*

In this crisis of their fortunes, the nation had recourse to the young Prince William, as their only hope. He had already given indications of his capacity for command, and was now appointed Captain General of the forces of Holland. One of his first

* Trevor's Life of William III. vol. i, p. 49.

meaſures, to obtain delay, was to open the ſluices of the great dyke. This was the reſource of a brave people, reſolved to loſe all but their freedom, and to drown their territories by a general inundation rather than ſubmit to a foreign yoke. A popular clamour was raiſed againſt De Witt, and the other magiſtrates. Holding their authority, as Republicans always do, by the uncertain tenure of the people's will, they were forced to repeal the "Perpetual Edict," to releaſe William from his oath of ſelf-excluſion, and to elect him to the office of Stadtholder. John De Witt and his brother fell victims to the fury of the multitude, under a falſe impreſſion that they had betrayed the country to their enemies. Doubtleſs they were ſincere patriots; but like many zealots who ſacrifice every thing to abſtract principles they had endangered the public ſafety; and now by a violent death at the hands of the mob afforded another example of the tyranny of democratic rule.

To all human calculations the fate of Holland was ſealed: her reſources were exhauſted; her army almoſt annihilated; her fortreſſes in the hands of a proud and victorious enemy, dreaded for the cruelties he every where inflicted, and confident from the ſignal triumphs already achieved. But the Prince, riſing under all his difficulties, ſeemed inſpired by the genius of war. Never, perhaps, was a greater national deliverance wrought by the enterpriſe and ſagacity of ſo young a warrior. The Engliſh miniſter, remonſtrating with him againſt the riſk he was incurring, ſaid, Do you not ſee that the country is loſt?" His anſwer was, "I ſee it is in great danger; but there is a ſure

way never to ſee it loſt, and that is to die in the laſt ditch."

In this ſpirit he opened the campaign with the remnant of an army, in number not one fifth that of the French, wanting in all the materials of war, diſpirited by defeat, and mainly compoſed of foreigners. But he ſeemed a hoſt of himſelf: every where preſent, and undaunted, he infuſed his own courage into the hearts of others. He was calm and unmoved in the midſt of danger becauſe he knew no fear, of keen intelligence to diſcover each weak point, and prompt to remedy every defect and error. He diſplayed ſuch an inflexibility of mind, ſuch a genius for war, and ſo burning a zeal, that the whole nation ſeemed, at his command, to ſtart into an enthuſiaſm, that has generally been thought foreign to its character.

The Prince, but lately a youth of ſickly frame, neglected, thwarted, excluded from his family honours, the indignant witneſs of his country's defeat, was now a hero in the eyes of all ſurrounding nations. He had entered the liſts as the champion of liberty againſt the conqueror of Europe. Louis, ſurpriſed at the ſudden effect of his great qualities, would have compromiſed with him, and offered to make him a Sovereign Prince over a part of the United Provinces with the guaranteed protection of England and France. But he was above the reach of any ſuch perſonal motive: he replied that "he would never betray the truſt repoſed in him, or ſell the liberties of his country, which his anceſtors had ſo long defended."

Profiting by the jealouſy of other princes, who were alarmed at the ambitious projects of Louis, he formed

a closer alliance with the Elector of Brandenburg, already engaged on the side of Holland, and prevailed upon the Emperor of Germany and the King of Spain to join with him against the common enemy. He was himself the centre of union among the allies. He commanded their armies against the most renowned generals of France, maintaining his presence of mind under every difficulty, and if sometimes defeated he soon retrieved his loss by an almost equal success. He was foremost in every danger, fertile in all the resources of a great commander, and extorting praise even from his enemies. "The young Prince," said Condé, after the drawn battle of Senef, "has shown all the qualities of the most experienced generals, except that he exposed his own person too much." At length the French were driven from all their conquests, and the gratitude of his country awarded to William and his successors the hereditary title of Stadtholder, which had hitherto been elective only.

In 1677 he came over to England, and gained the hand of the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, as his father, six and thirty years before, had received that of Princess Mary, daughter of Charles I. He thus cemented by a double bond the union of the two Houses, and brought himself nearer in approach to the succession of the English throne. This event diffused great joy throughout England, as tending to strengthen the Protestant interests in Europe, and to counteract the dangers apprehended from the known preference of Charles, and the avowed conversion of James, to the Church of Rome. But William was sensible that his continued presence in England

would not be acceptable at Court, his very popularity being thought to give encouragement to the disaffected. On the 29th of November, therefore, three weeks after his marriage, he prudently returned to Holland with his young bride and their attendants. His near relative and favourite, Count Zulestein, and Mistress Jane Worth, were of the number; the latter as maid of honour to the Princess. She was the daughter of Sir Henry Worth, and of Anne, sister to Lord Maynard.

It was not likely in the common course of events that this royal wedding should have any influence on the humble fortunes of Ken. Yet so it proved; for within two years he was appointed Chaplain to Mary at the Hague. Thus the meek hymnist of Winchester, known only to his flock and neighbours by an untiring devotion to the duties of his cure, was brought into relation with three successive Kings, Charles, James, and William. Some passages in his sermon, preached at Whitehall, after he was Bishop, on the text, "O Daniel greatly beloved," (Dan. x. ver. 11) are marked by an unconscious analogy to his own court-life. He there describes the Prophet, whose character he is holding up to view, living in the royal palace as an ascetic and a saint, as well as a courtier; never wilfully offending, yet bold and intrepid, exercising abstinence, prayer, and alms; "enjoying the highest favour and honour, yet innocent and untainted, still keeping his virgin love for God, his greatly Beloved, retiring into his own chamber three times a day for solemn prayer, as into his oratory; and when his prayers were heard, ascribing all to God, and nothing to himself, and blessing the God of Heaven."

The Princeſs had two Chaplains; one to be her "Almoner and Chaplain to her own perſon, who properly repreſented the Church of England in Holland, and regulated all things relating to the Chapel and worſhip of God." * To this office George Hooper had been firſt appointed, on the recommendation of Archbiſhop Sancroft. No one could be better qualified for the truſt; he remained a year and a half, and it was not without great reluctance that Mary parted with him. But he became very tired of his poſt, though not of the Princeſs, for whom he ever retained the higheſt reſpect, and received many proofs of her perſonal regard after her acceſſion to the Engliſh throne. Probably on coming away he mentioned his friend Ken;—or Sancroft might have been again the channel of recommendation;—or poſſibly Lord Maynard, who was Comptroller of the King's houſehold. Be this as it may, the appointment could not be declined, as the King's wiſh was equal to a command: otherwiſe the incivilities that Hooper had met with from the Prince of Orange would have deterred him from hazarding a like treatment.

William was a hero in the field, but not an amiable maſter: his conduct to Hooper was unworthy of a Prince; and Ken fared little better at his hands. It was fortunate for Dr. Hooper that he had independent means of living; for "all the time he was in Holland he was never offered any money. The other Chaplain was a worthy man, but not ſo well provided with ſubſiſtence in England, and not doubting but he ſhould

* Prouſe MS. Life of Hooper.

have a handsome stipend for his attendance, he ran so far in debt that he was so unhappy as to die under confinement by a broken heart, never being able to get one shilling of the Prince. But the night before Dr. Hooper was to embark, when he left Holland, Mr. Bentinck, afterwards Lord Portland, sent a servant to him with a bag in which the servant told him there was 70*l.* and an excuse for its being sent no sooner. This was all Dr. Hooper had for a year and a half's attendance; a specimen of Dutch generosity, of which I could give more instances."

"The Doctor found that some books had been put into the Princess's hands (who was a great reader) to incline her to a more favourable opinion of the Dissenters, than was consistent with that regard which a person so near the throne ought to have, for the preservation of the Church of England: which made him take all opportunities to recommend her to such books as would give her the clearest notions of Church Communion and Government, and the great obligations to submit to them. The Prince coming one day into her apartment, happened to find Eusebius's Church History, and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity lying before her Highness, and she reading in one of them, when he, with great commotion and eagerness, said, What, I suppose Dr. Hooper persuades you to read these books." *

From the same source which furnishes these anecdotes we are able to give one or two further characteristics of the Stadtholder, simply as bearing on the difficulties Ken afterwards met with, when he acted in the

* Prouse MS. Life of Hooper.

ſame capacity. "Dr. Hooper, when he came into Holland, found the Princeſs without any regular chapel for Divine Service, and the houſe ſo ſmall as to afford no room to make one, except the dining room in which ſhe dined, for the Prince and Princeſs never eat together, as the States and their officers often were admitted to his table; but not fit gueſts for her's. This room ſhe readily parted with for that uſe (and ever after, at leaſt as long as Dr. H. ſtaid there, dined in a ſmall dark parlour) and ordered Dr. H. to ſee the room fitted up in a proper manner for her Chapel, and when it was near finiſhed, Her Highneſs bid Dr. H. attend on ſuch a day, when the Prince intended to come and ſee what was done. Accordingly the Prince came, and as there was a ſtep or two at the Communion Table, and another for the chair where the Princeſs was to ſit, he kicked at them with his foot, aſking what they were for, which being told in a proper manner, he anſwered with a *hum*. When the Chapel was fit for uſe, the Prince never came to it, but on Sunday evenings, the Princeſs conſtantly attending twice a-day, and for fear ſhe ſhould ever make Dr. Hooper, or the congregation, wait beyond the appointed time, ſhe ordered him, when it was ſo, to come to her apartment, and ſhow himſelf only, as ſhe would immediately come." *

The Prince afterwards learned to behave himſelf more reverently before the Altar, when he poſſeſſed himſelf of the Palace at Whitehall. It might be no reproach to him, as a Preſbyterian, that he ſhould take umbrage at the Princeſs ſtudying Hooker's Eccleſiaſti-

* Prouſe MSS.

cal Polity: but it was no mark of his tolerant ſpirit to treat with diſreſpect and contempt the circumſtantials of the Church into which ſhe was baptized. It is creditable to his judgment and his heart that, when he had better opportunities to inform himſelf of the real principles and ritual of the Church of England, he cordially adopted them. Would that all who have the ſame opportunities were equally teachable. But to proceed with Hooper's memoirs.

"One day the Prince was talking with Dr. Hooper about the great diſtractions then in England at the time of the Popiſh Plot, and the great indulgence intended to be ſhown to the Diſſenters. But the Doctor not expreſſing himſelf ſo favourable to thoſe meaſures as he liked or expected, the Prince ſaid to him, 'Well, Dr. Hooper, you will never be a biſhop.' For although the Doctor acted with great prudence and decorum in the difficult ſtation he was in, ſo as to give the Prince no juſt occaſion of offence, yet he would never yield by undue compliance, where the Church of England, or any thing belonging to it, was concerned, which made the Prince once ſay to one that was in his confidence if ever he had any thing to do with England Dr. Hooper ſhould be Dr. Hooper ſtill." He little thought that the Chaplain would ſurvive him many years, and be conſecrated a Biſhop.

The firſt notices we have of Ken in his new employment at the Hague, appear in the diary of the Hon. Henry Sidney,* ambaſſador from England to the Court of Holland. Ken's office was "to regulate the per-

* Afterwards Lord Romney. See his Diary, 31ſt March, 1679.

formance of Divine Service in the Princeſs's chapel, according to the uſage of the Church of England." Hawkins ſays, "In this poſt, his moſt prudent behaviour, and ſtrict piety, gained him entire credit and high eſteem with the Princeſs whom to his death he diſtinguiſhed by the title of his Miſtreſs."* But he found in the diſpoſition of the Prince nothing kindred to his own. He himſelf was "lively and cheerful in his temper, diſpoſed to be facetious and entertaining," † a character quite in harmony with that of an earneſt Chriſtian. William was of an unſympathizing nature, reſerved, moroſe, bold in war and the chaſe, nurtured amid the turbulence and confuſion of political ſtrife, which make men harſh and ſelfiſh. Moreover Ken ſoon perceived that he treated the young Princeſs with undeſerved coldneſs and ſeverity,—inſomuch that himſelf and others attributed her declining health to his unkind uſage and, as Sidney expreſſes it in his Diary, "were mightily for her going into England." "Even before they had ſailed for Holland, the Court began to wiſper the Prince's ſullenneſs, or clowniſhneſs, that he took no notice of his Princeſſe at the playe or balle, nor came to ſee her at St. James's the day preceding this deſigned for their departure." ‡

Ken with his uſual faithfulneſs, reſolved to diſcharge the truſt committed to him, and to remonſtrate with the Prince, "though he ſhould kick him out of doors." § His Chriſtian temper, blending with an apoſtolic fearleſſneſs, well fitted him for ſo difficult a taſk: he could admoniſh, and yet ſoften the edge of his rebuke. Too

* Life of Ken, p. 7. † Ibid. p. 5.

‡ Dr. Lake's MS. Diary, printed by the Camden Society in 1846.

§ Sidney's Diary, vol. 2, p. 19.

guileless to understand the arts of flattery, he considered it a part of his commission to protect all who came within the sphere of his ministry. How he fared with the Prince in this critical undertaking is not related: but painful truths, brought home to the consciences of those accustomed to command, irritate rather than persuade. It may be inferred from the sequel that he proved an unwelcome monitor. A circumstance soon after occurred in the court of the Stadtholder, which brought upon Ken the full weight of his displeasure.

Count Zulestein, under a promise of marriage, had gained the heart and confidence of the beautiful Jane Worth, maid of honour to the Princess; but from a fear of offending William, or from some other cause, hesitated to fulfil his pledge. Ken, however, was content once more to brave the frowns of the Prince for the satisfaction of restoring peace to a wounded spirit. His sympathy was called forth on her behalf: she was a countrywoman; and could claim a descent from the heroic Sir Philip Sidney, that "short-lived ornament of his noble family, and the Marcellus of the English nation." But she had a still stronger title to his protection; for she was niece to his early patron, Lord Maynard, her mother being his Lordship's own sister Anne: no doubt Ken had often seen them both at Little Easton. All these considerations roused his beneficent feelings; and he so strenuously urged her claims, that Zulestein, subdued by his persuasive pleadings to a sense of justice, made all the restitution in his power by an honourable marriage.*

* He was afterwards created Earl of Rochford, and the title descended to their eldest son.—Collins's Peerage, vol iv. p. 162.

William was abſent at Amſterdam* when this affair took place, and on his return to the Hague expreſſed the greateſt indignation. Yet he ought not to have felt diſhonoured by the union of Zuleſtein (who was a natural ſon of Prince Henry Frederick of Naſſau) with a deſcendant, of the houſe of Sidney. He might have remembered, too, the friendſhip between Sir Philip and his own illuſtrious anceſtor, William of Naſſau, the deliverer of his country, who ſent a meſſage to Queen Elizabeth that "her majeſty had in Sir Philip one of the ripeſt and greateſt counſellors of ſtate in Europe."† His pride, however, was hurt; and perhaps having treaſured up his reſentment at Ken's former unwelcome interference, threatened to diſcharge him from his ſervice for the part he had now taken.

The Chaplain was far from feeling any regret at the proſpect of returning to England: he would rather accept it as a boon. His heart was in Wincheſter; and we have ſufficient evidence that in the palace and habits of the Stadtholder other things, beſides a difference of religious tenets, were inconſiſtent with his ſenſe of right. Inſtead, therefore, of deprecating William's anger, he obtained leave of the Princeſs to retire. But he ſtood ſo high in the eſteem of all men that the Prince was unwilling to incur the obloquy of diſmiſſing him, eſpecially for an act that could not but be applauded in England. William looked forward to reap the advantage of the Duke of York's excluſion from the Engliſh throne, as a Popiſh Recuſant, for which a bill had al-

* Sidney's Diary, vol. ii. p. 162.

† Lord Brooke's Life of Sir Ph. Sydney.

ready been introduced into the Houſe of Commons. He was anxious to conciliate the favour of all parties: he determined therefore to control his feelings; and ſo "entreated him to return to his former poſt and reſpect." Ken's placable ſpirit was not difficult to perſuade; "he conſented to continue for one year longer, during which time he was taken into a ſhow of great familiarity, and when that year expired he returned for England."*

The cloſe of his duties at the Hague was cheered by an event that marks the powerful effect of his miniſtry. His fervent eloquence, and affectionate zeal,—his ſimplicity and holineſs of life, made their way to the hearts even of men of other creeds. Not only Preſbyterians, but Roman Catholics, went to hear him preach. The pure Anglican doctrine was brought out in its full force; not in the way of controverſy, but by demonſtration from the inſpired oracles. In the ſpirit of primitive teaching he convinced his hearers of the apoſtolic origin and authority of our Epiſcopate. It is probable there were ſeveral inſtances of converſion: but one that took place from the Church of Rome was deemed of ſufficient importance to be communicated to Archbiſhop Sancroft, with whom Ken had already commenced a friendſhip, afterwards ſo ſeverely teſted. Henry Sidney mentions† the intended converſion of Colonel Fitz Patrick from the Romiſh Communion. Two days after he notices a conference between the Colonel and Dr. Ken; and on the 13th of September the Chaplain writes this unpretending letter to Sancroft.

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* Hawkins, p. 8. † Diary, 29th Auguſt, 1680.

" For His Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

" My very Good Lord,

" I SHOULD not dare to make this invaſion on Your Grace, but that my duty enforces me, and the ambition I have to ſend news, which I know will be extremely welcome to your Grace, and the rather becauſe it is of a convert to our Church, and of a convert, who is no leſſe a perſon than Collonell Fitz Patrick; who upon a deliberate enquiry is ſo fully ſatisfy'd with our Church, that he communicates with us next Lord's day in the Princeſs's Chapel. 'Tis not to be imagined how much both their Highneſſes are pleaſed with the Colonel's happy reſolution, and the Prince commanded me to give my Lord of London a particular account of it, which I have done. &c.

" I moſt earneſtly begge Your Grace's benediction

" My Good Lord,

" Your Grace's moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

Hague, Sept. 13th, 1680. " THO. KEN."*

He would not have been deſired by the Prince to ſend the Biſhop of London particulars of the progreſs of this converſion, had he not been the principal inſtrument of bringing it about: yet he makes no mention of himſelf; his only thought is the cauſe of truth, and the good of his fellow-men.

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* Round's Proſe Works of Ken, p. 38.

CHAPTER IX.

Ken returns from the Hague—appointed Chaplain to the King—His Funeral Sermon on Lady Margaret Maynard—The Court of Charles II. at Wincheſter—Ken refuſes the uſe of his Prebendal houſe to Nell Gwin.

THE time was now arrived for Ken's happy return to England. He did not, as Hawkins mentions, remain in Holland till the end of the year: it is certain that he was in London, in the houſe of his friend Francis Turner, in Amen Corner, Weſtminſter, in October, 1680. No ſooner did he arrive than the King rewarded his faithfulneſs by appointing him one of his own Chaplains. Hawkins and Wood both ſay that "the King did not ſhow any diſlike of his behaviour in Holland." It was not probable he ſhould do ſo; for "his moſt prudent behaviour, and ſtrict piety gained him entire credit, and high eſteem with the Princeſs Mary," who probably recommended him to the King's favour. Moreover, Lord Maynard's influence would naturally be exerciſed in favour of the protector of his niece, Jane Wroth, now Madame Zuleſtein.

If the Prince ſtill cheriſhed any reſentment againſt Ken, it was not likely to lower him in the good graces of Charles, who had never ſhown any affection for his nephew. William was too near in ſucceſſion, and in too cloſe correſpondence with the anti-court party in

England, not to be an object of jealousy to the royal brothers. The Princess, his wife, was heir presumptive to the throne; and when shortly afterwards the Oxford Parliament again proposed to exclude the Duke of York, and banish him from England, as an avowed Papist, the House of Commons declared that the Government (on the King's demise) should be vested in them, as Regents; and Commissioners were to have been sent over to receive the oaths of William and Mary that they would take on themselves the trusts of the intended act. The King, to prevent the prosecution of this scheme, suddenly dissolved parliament; but the Prince was still openly regarded by the malcontents as the main hope of the nation for preserving the Protestant religion. Apart, therefore, from all other influences, the circumstance of Ken's having incurred the Prince's displeasure, would rather advance than impede his promotion at the hands of the King. Wood fixes the appointment in 1679,* Bowles in 1681,† and Hawkins in 1684, *after his return* from Tangier.‡ Hawkins is plainly mistaken; for in the books of the Lord Chamberlain's office there is a memorandum of a letter, dated the 25th of January, 168$\frac{3}{4}$, written to Dr. Vincent (another of the Royal Chaplains) desiring him "to wayte in February next, for Dr. Kenn, he being at sea in His Majesty's service," showing that he was Chaplain *before* the expedition to Tangier.

The Records of the Lord Chamberlain's office ought

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* Athenæ Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 989. † Life of Ken, Vol. ii. p. 63.
‡ Hawkins' Life of Ken, p. 7.

to give the very day of his appointment: but the books are defective at the exact period when it took place. It is certain, however, that he was not chaplain at any time between the 14th of January 1677 and the 30th of July 1680, during which the registers are perfect. The following letter, extant in the office, shows that he was appointed between the date of his letter to Sancroft, (the 13th of September) and the 21st of October 1680. So that the time is ascertained within a few weeks. It is not improbable that this letter was the first official notice he received of the King's favour.

October 21st, 1680.

"Sir,

"THERE being five Sundays of this month of October I have thought proper to appoint you to preach before His Majesty at Whitehall upon the last Sunday in this month; but, understanding that it would be more convenient for you to preach upon Sunday next, I have prevailed with the Dean of Chichester, who is in wayting, to preach upon the last Sunday, and that you should preach before His Majesty upon Sunday next at Whitehall, and so perform that duty accordingly.

"Thus I rest your loving friend,

"ARLINGTON."

For Dr. Ken,
at Dr. Turner's, Amen Corner.

There is no record of this his first sermon before the Court. In the lists of Lent Preachers, in the London Gazette for 1681 and 1682, his name does not appear. Probably, therefore, he only took his turn in the ordinary rotation of the Chaplains in those years. In the

liſt of 1683 he was appointed to preach before the King on Aſh Wedneſday, and again in 1684 on Aſh Wedneſday the 27th of February: but at this latter date he was abſent at Tangier, and Dr. Vincent preached for him. The Chaplaincy required only occaſional attendance in London, where he had no engagements to keep him from Wincheſter. But in the ſummer of 1682 he was ſummoned to the death bed of his early friend, Lady Margaret Maynard, that he might miniſter to her the offices of the Church. We have already ſeen that his firſt appointment after ordination was the Rectory of Little Eaſton, and that he had "for near twenty years been admitted to Lady Margaret's moſt intimate thoughts." To him ſhe had made "confeſſions of her frequent ſevere examinations of her conſcience;" and now in her laſt hour ſhe received the Holy Communion at his hands. It was natural, therefore, that he ſhould be invited to preach her funeral ſermon. It cannot but be intereſting to hear ſomething of Ken's heartfelt and eloquent praiſe of this "gracious woman," confirmed in holy affections by his own paſtoral influence.

Before he enters on her perſonal character he offers a glowing tribute to female piety in general. "Women in all ages have given many heroic examples of ſanctity; beſides thoſe recorded in the Old Teſtament, many of them are named with great honour in the New, for their aſſiduity and zeal in following our Saviour, and their charity in miniſtering to Him of their ſubſtance. They accompanied Him to Mount Calvary, lamented His ſufferings, waited on the Croſs, attended the ſepulchre, prepared ſpices and ointments; and re-

gardless either of the insolence of the rude soldiers, or of the malice of the Jews, with a love that cast out all fear, they came on the first day of the week, before the morning light, to embalm Him: and God was pleased to honour these holy women accordingly, for they first saw the angel, who told them the joyful news that He was risen; and as if an angel had not been a messenger honourable enough, Jesus Himself first appeared to the women,—the women first saw and adored Him; and it was these very gracious women whom our Lord sent to His disciples, that women might first be publishers of His resurrection, as angels had been of His nativity. Our Saviour Himself has erected an everlasting monument in the Gospel for the penitent woman that anointed Him; and God Incarnate honoured the sex to the highest degree imaginable in being born of a woman, in becoming the Son of a Virgin Mother, whom all generations shall call Blessed; and I know not how to call it, but there is a meltingness of disposition, and affectionateness of devotion, an easy sensibility, an industrious alacrity, a languishing ardour in piety, peculiar to the sex, which renders them subjects more pliable to the divine grace than men commonly are; so that Solomon had reason to bestow the epithet *gracious* particularly on them, and to say that 'a gracious woman retaineth honour.'"*

Applying this general character to the immediate object of his affectionate eulogy, "I cannot tell," he

* A Sermon preached at the Funeral of the Right Honourable the Lady Margaret Mainard, at Little Easton, in Essex, on the 30th of June, 1682, by Dr. Thomas Ken.

ſays, " what one help ſhe neglected to ſecure her perſeverance, and to heighten her graces, that ſhe might 'ſhine more and more to a perfect day.' Her oratory was the place where ſhe principally reſided, and where ſhe was moſt at home, and her chief employment was prayer and praiſe. Out of ſeveral authors, ſhe for her own uſe tranſcribed many excellent forms, the very choice of which does argue a moſt experienced piety: ſhe had devotions ſuited to all the primitive hours of prayer, as far as her bodily infirmities and neceſſary avocations would permit, and with David praiſed God ſeven times a day, or ſupplied the want of thoſe ſolemn hours by a kind of perpetuity of ejaculations, which ſhe had ready to anſwer all occaſions, and to fill up all vacant intervals; and if ſhe happened to wake in the night, of proper prayers even for midnight ſhe was never unprovided. Thus this gracious ſoul, having been enkindled by fire from Heaven in her baptiſm, lived a continual ſacrifice, and kept the fire always burning, always in aſcenſion, always aſpiring towards Heaven from whence it fell.

" Her charity made her ſympathize with all in miſery: and beſides her private alms, wherein her left hand was not conſcious to her right, ſhe was a common patroneſs to the poor and needy, and a common phyſician to her ſick neighbours, and would often with her own hands dreſs their moſt loathſome ſores, and ſometimes keep them in her family, and would give them both diet and lodging, till they were cured, and then clothe them, and ſend them home to give God thanks for their recovery; and if they died, her charity accompanied them ſometimes to the grave, and ſhe took care

even of their burial. She would by no means endure that by the care of plentifully providing for her children the wants and neceſſities of any poor Chriſtian ſhould be overlooked; and deſired it might be remembered, that alms, and the poor's prayers, will bring a greater bleſſing to them than thouſands a year."

But we muſt bring theſe extracts, and the life of Lady Margaret, to a cloſe, that we may return to the hiſtory of the Preacher. "On Whit Sunday ſhe received her Viaticum, the moſt holy Body and Blood of her Saviour, and having received abſolution, ſhe in a ſhort time was happily launched into the ſtate of ſeparation of ſoul and body; for all the bonds of union being untied, her ſoul was ſet at liberty, and on the wings of Angels took a direct and vigorous flight to its native country, Heaven, from whence it firſt flew down. There we muſt leave her in the boſom of her heavenly Bridegroom, where how radiant her crown is, how extatic her joy, how high exalted ſhe is in degree of glory, it is impoſſible to be deſcribed; for neither eye hath ſeen, nor ear heard, nor has it entered into the heart of man to be conceived, the good things which God hath prepared for thoſe that love Him, of all which ſhe is now partaker."

From this glowing deſcription of the chriſtian character, we may judge how little he was himſelf influenced by the varying profeſſions of the world; how innocent and prayerful was his own life in the midſt of the violent parties that now divided the nation. The hiſtory of the Engliſh court at this period preſents a confuſed ſcene of weakneſs and treachery, almoſt without a parallel. The King, yielding to the alternate

influence of the Duchefs of Portfmouth, of Monmouth, the Duke of York, and Louis XIV, began to be wearied by their various intereftS and perfuafions. He had no confidence in himfelf, or thofe about him. Real or pretended Popifh and Proteftant plots, the intrigues of his Cabal miniftry, and of parties favouring the hollow pretenfions of the Duke of Monmouth, or preffing for the exclufion of the Duke of York,—fome defigning a republic, others a conftitutional monarchy, — had kept the public mind in a perpetual ferment. Charles became more than ever averfe to bufinefs. His chief care was to obtain the means of gratifying his luxurious and profligate taftes, which compelled him to live the obfequious penfioner of France. His time was divided between Windfor, Newmarket, and Winchefter.

At the laft of thefe he now refolved to build a new palace. "Sir Chriftopher Wren was appointed the architect, who drew a plan and an elevation for the whole building, partly on the model of Verfailles, in a ftyle of royal magnificence. This being approved, he laid the foundation ftone of the edifice, the 23rd March, 1683. The work was carried on with the greateft ardour; Charles himfelf, with the Duke of York, being frequently there for a confiderable time together to infpect the building, from whence they made excurfions to Portfmouth, and hunting parties in the New Foreft." * Evelyn fays, "the deftruction of the king's houfe at Newmarket by an accidental fire made him more earneft to render Winchefter the feat

* Milner's Hift. of Winchefter, vol. i. p. 429.

of his autumnal field diversions, designing a palace there, where the ancient castle stood, infinitely indeed preferable to Newmarket for prospects, air, pleasure and provisions. The surveyor has already begun the foundation for a palace, estimated to cost £35,000, and his majesty is purchasing ground about it to make a park, &c." *

These royal visits to Winchester brought together a concourse of people of all classes, greater than the town could conveniently hold.

"The Duchess of Portsmouth finished out of hand a house for herself." Of her ordinary habits of extravagance we may form some idea from Evelyn's description of her apartments in the palace at Whitehall. He says, "following the king (14 Oct. 1683) through the gallery, I went with the few who attended him into the Duchess of Portsmouth's dressing-room within her bed-chamber. That which engaged my curiosity was the rich and splendid furniture of this woman's apartment, now twice or thrice pulled down and rebuilt, to satisfy her prodigal and expensive pleasures, whilst her Majesty does not exceed some gentlemen's ladies in furniture and accommodation. Thus for japan cabinets, screens, pendule clocks, great vases of wrought plate, tables, stands, chimney furniture, sconces, branches, braseras, all of massive silver, and out of number, — besides some of her Majesty's best paintings." †

Nell Gwyn also was one of the court circle, and of course to be provided for, though not so handsomely.

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* Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 562. † Ibid.

Strange to ſay, this was the occaſion of placing Ken in a difficulty. He had a good houſe in the Cathedral Cloſe, oppoſite to the Deanery where the king was to lodge. When "his Harbinger," whom we may ſuppoſe was an officer of the houſehold, "came to Winton, he marked the Doctor's houſe, which he held in right of his prebend, for the uſe of Mrs. Gwin." But Ken's fearleſs heart at once prompted him to vindicate the holineſs of his office. "He abſolutely refuſed her admittance, declaring that a woman of ill repute ought not to be endured in the houſe of a Clergyman, eſpecially the King's Chaplain." This muſt have excited no ſmall ſurpriſe among the courtiers; but as he was peremptory, "ſhe was forced to ſeek other lodgings."* A ſmall building was put up for her at the ſouth end of the Deanery. "It was ever afterwards known by the name of Nell Gwyn, and has only been removed within the preſent century."†

He could not enter into the little worldly conſiderations of policy and prudence, that ſo often outweigh the clear dictates of conſcience. His was no falſe or partial rule of conduct. The ſame ſimple zeal which had moved him, in the palace at the Hague, to protect the honour of Jane Worth, at the riſk of offending the Prince of Orange, at once made him reject Nell Gwyn, though it ſhould expoſe him to the king's reſentment. Hawkins ſays, "his refuſal of Mrs. Gwyn was publickly known." He had, in his meaſure, the

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* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 9.

† Dr. Moberly's Biographical Memoir of Biſhop Ken, 1840, p. vi.

holy courage of the Baptiſt, to reprove adultery even in a palace: but very different was his reward. So far from being offended, Charles appears to have admired the Chriſtian boldneſs of his chaplain, who was ſhortly after engaged in a ſecret ſervice, which about that time occupied much of the King's thoughts.

CHAPTER X.

Ken appointed Chaplain of the Fleet on the expedition to Tangier — Voyage — The vicious government of Tangier — Corrupt ſtate of the Navy.

IT was now eight years ſince Ken had ſtudied the polity and religion of Italy, and ſcarcely three ſince his return from the leſs poliſhed court of Holland, when he received a haſty ſummons to leave once more his friends and flock for a barbarous and diſtant ſpot. The town of Tangier, in the ſtraits of Gibraltar, had long been a ſource of great outlay to the king. At length his "intolerable expence, profuſe gaming and dallying," as Evelyn deſcribes them, brought him into ſuch embarraſſments that he could no longer afford to maintain the place.

He had received this African fortreſs and the iſland of Bombay on his marriage with Catherine of Braganza, as part of her dower. Bombay, at that time eſteemed of minor importance, has ſince become one of the moſt flouriſhing colonies of Britain; while Tangier, which now barely helps to ſupply Gibraltar with proviſions, was reckoned of great value, as the key of the Mediterranean. The king had expended vaſt ſums in conſtructing a mole for the defence of the harbour, made it a free port, and conferred upon it extenſive privileges: but the money, being laviſhly

applied, ſerved rather to enrich the governors and engineers, than to promote the public ſervice. The Parliament refuſed any further grants, diſtruſting the right application of them, and Charles was driven by his neceſſities to abandon this uſeleſs poſſeſſion, where nothing but diſorder, extravagance, and profligacy had prevailed. He determined, in the ſummer of 1683, to ſend a naval force of twenty ſhips, under Lord Dartmouth, with ſecret orders to deſtroy the fortifications, leſt they ſhould become formidable in the hands of the Moors.

Lord Dartmouth had always been high in favour with the King and Duke of York, out of reſpect both to the memory of his father, and his own loyal attachment to the throne. He was a rare example of fidelity and virtue in an age when public corruption ſo generally prevailed. His father was the brave Colonel Legge, one of the three devoted companions of Charles, when he eſcaped from Hampton Court. It is difficult to account for his not having met the ſame fate that befel ſo many loyaliſts, as he was ſeveral times impriſoned by the rebels. On one occaſion at Coventry he was ſaved by the ingenious device of his wife, and paſſed through the guards without challenge in female diſguiſe. The King, a ſhort time before his execution, bequeathed this faithful friend as a legacy to the Prince of Wales, "charging him to take care of honeſt Will Legge, for he was the faithfulleſt ſervant that ever any Prince had." He declined the offer of a peerage on the Reſtoration, and died in 1670. The ſon diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the naval ſervice, roſe to the rank of Admiral, was made maſter of the Ordnance, and a

Privy Counſellor, and in 1682 created Lord Dartmouth. He followed in the ſame path of ſtedfaſt adherence to his King, refuſed to the very laſt to abandon the Stuarts at the ſubſequent revolution, and died a priſoner in the Tower in 1691.

Samuel Pepys, afterwards Secretary of the Navy, was appointed to be of Lord Dartmouth's Council in this expedition to Tangier, of which his journal records many curious particulars.* He alſo was a great favourite with the King. As ſecretary to Sir Edward Montague, he accompanied him in the Royal Charles from Breda, on his reſtoration; and was with him in the ſame boat when he landed at Dover. He now received the Royal command to repair to Portſmouth "at leſs than eight and forty hours' warning."

It would appear from Pepys's correſpondence that Ken's ſervices, as Chaplain of the Fleet, were ſecured at the earneſt deſire of Dartmouth, who was anxious to improve the diſcipline and moral condition of the Navy. Afterwards, when Dartmouth was in command to oppoſe the landing of the Prince of Orange, Pepys wrote to Dr. Peachell, Maſter of Magdalen College, Cambridge, with an offer of the ſame appointment. He then ſays, "I was once concerned in the conveyance of a like application from the ſame hand, and on the very ſame occaſion, to my reverend friend Dr. Ken, now Biſhop of Bath and Wells. In a word, my Lord Dartmouth is to the laſt degree ſolicitous in the choice of his Chaplain, and judging that all the wiſhed for qualifications (piety, authority, and learning) meet

* Life, Journal, and Correſpondence of Samuel Pepys, 2 vols. 8vo.

in you, is become a most earnest suitor to your acceptance of that charge. And I am by full experience in the case of Dr. Ken, convinced you could never do it with such a concurrence of circumstances, public and private, to render the same worthy your acceptance, as under the invitation and patronage of this noble Lord."

Enclosed in this letter was one from Dartmouth, expressing that the application was "for the good of the Church of England, which is so much concerned." "I think it of the highest importance to have the ablest and best man I can possibly obtain to go with me, both for the service of God, and the good government of the Clergy that are Chaplains in the Fleet. My most earnest request to you is, that if it be not too great an inconvenience, you would do me the honour and favour to go with me this short voyage. I beg it of you for God's sake! and as I am to answer to Him for the preservation of so many souls as He hath been pleased to put under my care. I have nothing more but to beg your prayers and blessing, with pardon for this confident desire."*

Nothing could be more deplorable than the general condition and character of the naval chaplains, whom Ken was now invited to superintend. The indignities and privations they suffered are well set forth in a representation from two of their body to Mr. Secretary Pepys.† They describe the ministers of the Church of England, serving at sea, as "too long navigant in a valley of tears: partly by misfortune, partly by their

* Pepys, vol. ii. p. 149. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 203.

own faults, but chiefly by the iniquity of the times. The Chaplains of His Majeſty's ſhips ſet out unfurniſhed with books and neceſſaries; and are forced on mean compliances from ſhifts ſometimes, and baſe tricks. Hence they meet with neglects and contempts that always attend poverty. They want comforts which ſome of the meaneſt in the ſhip enjoy. Their ſmall pay, equal but to a common ſeaman's, &c. The Chaplain is ſcarcely reckoned an Officer: he has no power even in his own office, not daring to order the bell to ring to prayers, but with leave firſt had of the Captain. Beſides, the hours of prayer are not fixed and ſtated; but being left to the Commander's pleaſure are ſometimes omitted, as his particular buſineſs, indiſpoſition, or indevotion incline. Hence great neglects, and ſometimes total omiſſion of divine ſervice, which makes the Chaplain looked upon as uſeleſs, and, as the ſeamen ſometimes tell him to his face, having their money for nothing," &c. The remedies they propoſe are a proof of the ſad degradation and neglect of the ſervices of religion at that day in the fleets: to inſtance one only, "that the King allow a great Bible, and ſurplice, and ſeveral books of Common Prayer to each ſhip."

Some ſurpriſe has been expreſſed, that Dr. Ken ſhould undertake an employment ſo oppoſed to his peaceful habits and inclinations, eſpecially as he was chaplain to the King, and in the high road to preferment at home. Such a feeling would argue but a ſlight acquaintance with the motives that governed his whole life. Whether or no the King laid his commands on him to join an enterprize in which he took

so great an interest, it is needless to seek motives for his acceptance of the appointment. Such an appeal as Dartmouth's would carry with it irresistible arguments: it struck a chord that vibrated to Ken's warm and simple heart. If he would, he dared not consult his own ease, when "the good government of the clergy that were Chaplains in the fleet, and the preservation of so many souls were at stake." The quiet fulfilment of his duties at Winchester might have justified his refusal. But he yielded all to the great objects thus laid before him. He received the summons as an indication of God's will, knowing that in the midst of tumult and war, or in the recesses of solitude, the true minister of Christ may equally bear the divine commission. If employed in his Master's service, he was content. Whether it were at home or abroad, in Africa or England, he surrendered himself to his appointed work.

His farewell to his friends must needs have been a hasty one, as he had very little more notice to prepare himself than was granted to Pepys. Most probably they went together to Portsmouth; for Pepys says he slept at Winchester on the 31st of July, *dined at the College* the 1st of August, and that evening slept at Portsmouth,* where Lord Dartmouth joined them on the 3rd. "So all went on board for good and all on the 8th of August 1683." He writes to his friend Evelyn that "the King's command (without any account of the reason of it) required my repair hither at less than eight and forty hours' warning. What our

* Pepys, vol. i. p. 327.

work is I am not ſolicitous to learn, nor forward to make gueſs at, it being handled by our Maſters as a ſecret. This only I am ſure of; that, over and above the ſatisfaction of being thought fit for ſome uſe or other, ('tis no matter what) I ſhall go in a good ſhip, with a good fleet, under a very worthy leader, in a converſation as delightful as companions of the firſt form in divinity, law, phyſic, and the uſefulleſt parts of mathematics can render it, Dr. Ken, Dr. Trumbull,* Dr. Lawrence,† and Mr. Sheres; with the additional pleaſure of concerts (much above the ordinary) of voices, flutes and violins; and to fill up all, good humour, good cheer, ſome good books, &c, and a reaſonable proſpect of being home again in leſs than two months."

Evelyn, who in his Diary frequently expreſſes his reſpect for Ken, congratulates Pepys on "ſuch a noble and choice company, ſuch uſeful and delightful converſation. You leave us ſo naked at home that, till you return from Barbary, we are in danger of becoming barbarians. The heroes are all embarked with my Lord Dartmouth and Mr. Pepys; nay, they ſeem to carry with them not a colony only, but a College, nay a whole Univerſity, all the ſciences, all the arts, and all the Profeſſors of them too."‡ His friend Houblon alſo expreſſes his "hope that the excellent company you have, all Maſters of Arts and ſciences, with muſic of all ſorts, will divert your melancholy thoughts of leaving Old England, and ſome of your friends."§

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* Judge Advocate of the Expedition.

† Phyſician to Lord Dartmouth.

‡ Pepys, vol. i. p. 326.

§ Ibid. p. 328.

"The Fleet made ſeveral attempts to put to ſea: but the wind was contrary; all at Weſt and overblowing.

"12th Auguſt. Sunday. Being at anchor off St. Helen's, morning prayers and ſermon by Dr. Ken; prayers in the afternoon.

"19th. Sunday. Weighed and ſtood out to ſea with the Fleet: all day blowing freſh. No ſermon, but prayers twice by Dr. Ken.

"22nd. Morning fair. Land off the ſtart. Afternoon, anchor in Plymouth Sound. My Lord ſtaying on board, Dr. Trumbull, Dr. Ken, &c. in a boat on ſhore.

"2nd September. Sunday. Noon, prayers. The King's declaration about the late (Rye Houſe) Plot publickly read. The next Sunday, the 9th, appointed to be obſerved as a thankſgiving, for His Majeſty's deliverance. Diſcourſe about Spirits, Dr. Ken aſſerting there were ſuch, and I, with the reſt, denying it: referred to another night's diſcourſe.

"9th September. Sunday. Up to read by myſelf ſome chapters in the Bible; by and by to prayers. This being the day of Thankſgiving for the King's late deliverance, Dr. Ken gave us a very good ſermon on the duty of ſubjects to their Prince.

"11th. After Supper in my Lord's cabin, Dr. Ken and I were very hot in diſpute about Spirits.

"12th. Dr. Ken produced his arguments for Spirits from the ancient actings of the Oracles, which I took upon me, againſt the next time, to anſwer."*

It is not perfectly clear whether theſe friendly diſ-

* Pepys, vol. i. p. 331-353.

putes referred to the queſtion of Satanic influence, exerciſed in the Delphic and other ancient oracles; or to a belief of the continued ſupernatural agency of ſpirits; or, if the latter, to what extent Dr. Ken maintained it.

With regard to the ancient oracles, Ken would probably adopt the view taken by the fathers of the Church, that prior to the Chriſtian diſpenſation they were influenced by Satanic power, though their reſponſes were often overruled for good; but that ſuch influence had ceaſed on the advent of our Saviour, or at leaſt on the fall of paganiſm under Theodoſius. Pepys on the other hand was evidently of opinion, with many learned Chriſtian writers, that the heathen oracles were of human invention, for prieſtly or political ends; a mere impoſture, without any ſupernatural interpoſition.

As to the continued agency of ſpirits, it was ſo generally admitted at the time we ſpeak of, as even to degenerate into many vulgar errors and ſuperſtitions. Dæmonology and witchcraft, though greatly modified, ſtill continued an extenſively popular belief. Ken, doubtleſs, thought with that greateſt of Chriſtian philoſophers, Robert Boyle, that there was a broad diſtinction between the aſſumed powers of magical influence, and the preſence and energy of ſpiritual intelligences, good and evil, not permitted only, but ordained, to work out the purpoſes of the Moſt High. Theſe laſt are matters, not of philoſophical diſpute, but of divine revelation. "I remember not," ſays Boyle, "that I have hitherto met with any, at leaſt cogent, proof that miracles were to ceaſe with the age

of the Apostles, and not only the excellent Grotius, but Tertullian, Justin Martyr, Cyprian, and other ancients, tell us that the power of ejecting Devils out of possessed persons lasted long after that, and was not unfrequent in the Christian Church. This is an age when many do take upon them to decide all that is supernatural; and while they loudly cry up reason, make no better use of it than to employ it, first to depose faith, and then to serve their passions and interest."*

If Pepys meant to contend that the existence of Spirits, or miraculous influences, are not to be proved by philosophy and the light of nature, the same objection might be made to any other mysteries of the faith. Let the claimant to philosophy explain the dominion of his will over his own fearful and wonderful organization. Let him define and fathom the life, sense, reason, by which he exists and acts, and lay his hand upon any link of the chain that binds the physical and spiritual being: then, and not till then, let him question the invisible agencies, and mysterious interpositions by which the ever present Deity conducts to its issue the mortal trial of His creatures. "Weigh me the weight of the fire, and measure me the blast of the wind, or call me again the day that is past. Then answered I, and said, What man is able to do that, that thou shouldst ask such things of me?" And what was the Archangel's reply? "Thine own things, and such as are grown up with thee, canst thou not know: how should

* Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 76.

thy veſſel, then, be able to comprehend the way of the Higheſt?"*

We walk continually on the confines of the ſpiritual world: it is on our right hand, and on our left.—Thoughtful and reverent minds realize this at every ſtep: it is at once their diſcipline and their comfort: it urges them to frequent prayer, keeps them ever watchful againſt evil, and ſtrengthens them by the conviction of the preſence of miniſtering angels. Inſtances of divine interpoſition through viſions, and myſterious ſuggeſtions of the Spirit, are numerous and clearly eſtabliſhed.† They are ſurely not leſs realities, nor leſs confirmed to our deliberate convictions, becauſe impalpable to the ſenſes. However much, amidſt the whirl of outward objects, men may boaſt their indifference or incredulity, there are moments when in the ſtillneſs of ſolitude, or in the darkneſs of the night, the ſtouteſt hearts will beat at the leaſt unexplained noiſe or appearance, and witneſs to their involuntary belief in the deep unſearchable myſteries of the world unſeen.

The firſt notice of theſe friendly diſcuſſions on the voyage occurs on the 2nd of September, and they were renewed from time to time, till they caſt anchor within the Bay of Tangier. Revelation being as far above reaſon, as reaſon is beyond the ſenſes, the diſputants, viewing the ſubject through different media, might have ſailed round the world before they had adjuſted their difference. The ſtate of things at Tan-

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* Eſdras iv. v. 10-11—Compare Job xxvi. v. 14.

† Compare Biſhop Bull on the nature and office of Angels.

gier soon turned their minds in another direction: we hear no more of arguments, except when they took the same side to reprove "the viciousness of the place."

The discussions served at least to beguile the weary days on board ship. But besides his official duties, conversation, and music, Ken had another employment in the indulgence of his taste for poetry; for he now composed his epic poem of EDMUND. It must be confessed that this vies with the tediousness of the African voyage. It seems strange that the lively author of the Three Hymns, and other holy songs published after his death, should have indited twelve such anomalous Cantos. Our reverence for the author forbids any criticisms or quotations. It had been well for his poetic fame if the Epic had been consigned to a like fate with the subject of his verse, the Royal Edmund,

"Heroe, Martyr, Saint and King,"

whom he describes to have been cast into the sea by the sailors, on a voyage to Anglia, at the instigation of demons and monsters of the deep.

The fleet arrived at Tangier after five weeks' passage.

"14th September. Up by break of day (entering the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar) to see the shore on both sides to my great pleasure. About 10, within the Bay of Tangier.

"15th. Up betimes to look with a glass on the Moors' camp."* (They had laid siege to the town with a considerable army.)

They found the place unworthy of the vast expense

* Pepys, vol. i, pp. 354-5.

incurred in its improvement. "How could any body ever think a place fit to be kept at this charge that, overlook'd by ſo many hills, can never be ſecured againſt an enemy!" "The place an ordinary place. Amazed to think how the King hath laid out ſo much money upon it. Wondered at the folly of the King's being at all this charge upon this town." "The leaſt part of our miniſters' miſtakes, in reference to Tangier, hath been leading the King to ſquandering near two millions upon what as much more would never make uſeful to him." The Commiſſioners, appointed to ſurvey the fortifications, reported that "to ſecure the place on the land ſide would require two millions."*

Lord Dartmouth, Dr. Ken, and every one elſe, ſuffered more or leſs from the ill effects of the African climate. "The expedition ſhould have been ſent two months ſooner, that they might have had long days, and fair weather above head, to work on the mole, before the ſtorms and ſeas came on." But the greateſt diſappointment was the ignorance, ſupineneſs, and corruption of the people at Tangier, who were to aſſiſt in executing the King's orders: ſo that, inſtead of being back in two months, it took almoſt four to deſtroy the fortifications. Dartmouth ſometimes almoſt deſpaired of accompliſhing the deſign from the want of diſcipline among the naval commanders, "whoſe whole care was to profit themſelves, and not the public ſervice." He had alſo to contend againſt the corrupt influence, and ſecret oppoſition, of Colonel Kirke, the Governor, a ruthleſs barbarian and tyrant.

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* Pepys, paſſim.

Such was the degradation of the navy in the latter part of this reign that, had the war with Holland continued, England must have suffered total defeat. The King's ships were "converted into carriers of merchandize and treasure, for their own advantage, from Cadiz, up and down the Mediterranean, and on the coast of Portugal, &c. to the corrupting of the commanders and others." "We have every day fresh instances of their debaucheries, the King's own son, Grafton, being the top of all." "The tyranny and vice of Kirke is stupendous, as by infinite stories appears; and his exactions on poor merchants, letting nothing be sold till he had the refusal."*

Dr. Ken did all in his power to stem this torrent of immorality, but in vain.

"30th September. Sunday. To church (in Tangier); a very fine and seasonable, but most unsuccessful, argument from Dr. Ken, particularly in reproof of the vices of this town. I was in pain for the Governor, and the officers about us in church; but I perceived they regarded it not.

"26th October. Being a little ill, and troubled at so much loose company at table, my Lord not being there, I dined in my chamber; and Dr. Ken, for the same reason, came and dined with me. We had a great deal of good discourse on the viciousness of this place, and it's being time for Almighty God to destroy it.

"28th October. Sunday. Very high discourse between Dr. Ken and me on the one side, and the Go-

* Pepys, vol. i, p. 403.

vernor (Kirke) on the other, about the exceſſive liberty of ſwearing we obſerve here. The Doctor, it ſeems, had preached on it to-day."

At length, by the middle of January 1684, the fortifications were deſtroyed: but the ſame cauſes of delay, the treaty with the Moors for the releaſe of the Chriſtian ſlaves, arranging the compenſation to the Engliſh, Portugueſe, and other ſettlers for their loſs of property, and getting them all on board, prevented their ſailing for England till the 5th of March.

CHAPTER XI.

Ken returns to England—Death of Iſaak Walton; and of Biſhop Morley—Ken appointed to the Biſhopric of Bath and Wells—Attends the death bed of Charles II.

THE fleet from Tangier moored off Spithead the firſt week in April. It would appear from Pepys's Diary that Ken and others landed at Portſmouth, which was the neareſt point to his friends at Wincheſter. We may imagine the alacrity with which he eſcaped from the confuſion and noiſe on ſhipboard, ſo little congenial to his habits. No doubt he had found this ſphere of uſefulneſs diſappointing to his hopes. The prevailing corruption and immorality at Tangier, and throughout the fleet, were beyond his control or influence. What anticipations of hope and fear muſt he have felt, as he came within ſight of the Church of St. Croſs, and after that the well known town of Wincheſter. Alas! he was to receive no welcome from the loved lips, that for ſo many years had cheered him onward in his path; they were cloſed for this world. The devout Walton had fallen aſleep; and he not by to receive his laſt words, and be the miniſter of Chriſtian ſolace in his parting hour! Few men in ſo humble a ſphere had lived a more uſeful life: the memory of few is more cheriſhed. His writings are the mirror of a meek ſpirit, purified by a ſimple devotion to God. It is not too much to ſay that they have been our comfort

under trials, and the companion of our holiday walks: they have made us love the pleaſantneſs of the mountains,—they have decked the meadows with more than their native flowers, and have made the falls of rivers more muſical; for they lift the hearts of the afflicted to their only Comforter, and the thankful praiſes of the happy to the divine Author of every bleſſing. Ken amidſt his regrets for ſuch a loſs had the beſt comfort of mourners,—the conviction that he who had been to him all but a ſpiritual father, had left this jangling world, the diſcord of "bad man on earth," for an eternal reſt and harmony.

Walton had been already buried three months within Prior Silkſtead's Chapel, in the Cathedral, where he and Ken had for many years joined in the ſervices of the Church they both loved ſo well, and had each, in his ſphere, ſo zealouſly ſerved. We may judge of their mutual attachment by the epitaph that ſtill marks the place of Walton's burial, and which in all likelihood was written by Ken himſelf.

HERE RESTETH THE BODY OF
MR. IZAAC WALTON,
WHO DIED THE 15TH OF DECEMBER
1683.

Alas he's gone before,
Gone to return no more!
Our panting breaſts aſpire,
After their aged ſire;
Whoſe well ſpent life did laſt
Full ninety yeares and paſt.
But now he hath begun
That which will ne'er be done.
Crown'd with eternal bliſſe,
We wiſh our ſouls with his.

VOTIS MODESTIS SIC FLERUNT LIBERI.

He had not been forgotten in Walton's will: being of the number to whom a ring was bequeathed, engraved "to my brother Dr. Ken," with this motto, "A friend's farewell, J. W. obiit 15th Dec. 1683." But he received a memorial of still greater value, which had probably been promised to him in Walton's lifetime as a pledge of their affection for each other. Dr. Donne before his death had sent to each of his dearest friends a ring of Heliotropian, or blood stone, on which was engraved the figure of the blessed Saviour, extended upon the cross of an anchor, the emblem of hope. Izaak Walton was in the list; also Sir Henry Wootton; Dr. Hall, Bishop of Exeter; Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury; Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, and Mr. George Herbert. It was Walton's happiness, and his praise, to be one of such a Christian circle: he cherished the gift during his life, *and sealed his last will with it*, declaring his "belief in all poynts of faith, as the Church of England now professeth." All Ken's letters in the Bodleian Library, and in the possession of Dr. Williams, Warden of New College, bear the impress of this seal, *as also his own will*, in which he professed his adherence to the "Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross." On Ken's death it descended to Isaac Walton, junior, *who likewise sealed his will with it*, bearing equal testimony to the "Communion of the Church of England, as having reformed herself with that sound judgement and godly sincerity, as to be the soundest and purest part of the Church Catholic at this time existent." Thus in life they were all united by

the clofeft bonds of affection, and in death each was a witnefs to the Holy Catholic and Apoftolic faith of the Anglican Church. This little Heliotropian ftone, fet in a golden ring, and defcending from one to the other as an heir loom, was a type of the fucceffion of holy men, which will never be wanting in the Church of Chrift.

Twelve months had not glided over the grave of this venerable friend, before Ken was bereaved of another, fcarcely lefs dear to him, — one to whom he was bound by ties of gratitude, and by kindred virtues. He was fummoned to Farnham Caftle to receive the parting benediction of the munificent, learned, and felf-denying Bifhop of Winchefter. Morley had abounded in good works, which he knew to be the only riches he could carry with him when he died: he beftowed his wealth freely for the good of others. He did not "fare fumptuoufly every day;" for he had but one meal in the twenty-four hours, practifed great aufterity, "rofe at 5 o'clock winter and fummer, and in the coldeft mornings never had a fire, or his bed warmed at night." When his infirmities conducted him to his long home, that it might be to him a place of everlafting reft and happinefs, he did humbly in his laft days beg all good men's prayers."* The King, when he appointed him to the See of Winchefter, foretold that he would never be the richer for it: and the prediction was verified. His hofpital at Winchefter, built and endowed for the fupport of Clergymen's widows, (himfelf unmarried) is one example of his munificence. Again, the rebuilding of Wolverfey Houfe

* Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 772.

for the Episcopal Palace; the vast sums he expended on Farnham Castle, and the purchase of Winchester House at Chelsea, for the benefit of his successors in the See; his rich benefactions to Christ Church in Oxford; his almost unequalled contributions towards the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral, after the fire, with many other instances, testified that his chosen treasury was in heaven. Ken had the happiness by his presence to soothe the last moments of his dying patron. When the spirit was fled he sent a messenger to his friend Francis Turner, now Bishop of Ely, that he might announce the event to the Primate. Turner's letter to Sancroft is in the Bodleian Library.

"Bromley, October 30, 1684.

"May it please your Grace,

"LATE yesterday I received an express from Dr. Ken, written from Farnham, to inform me that it pleased God to release the good old Bishop out of the miserys of this life, between two and three of the clock yesterday morning. So he was gathered under the feet of St. Simon and St. Jude. I suppose this authentique intelligence was sent me to Ely House on purpose that I might transmit it to your Grace at Lambeth, together with my truest duty, which I shall present in my personal attendance (if it please God) upon Sunday morning.

"May it please your Grace, I am
Your most obliged, most obedient
and most affectionate humble servant
FRAN. ELIE."*

* Tanner MSS. Vol. xxxii. p. 165.

Morley was buried in a little vault at the foot of the ſteps leading up to the choir of Wincheſter Cathedral. He lies in peace in the ſame holy ground as his great predeceſſor Wykeham, and his humble friend Izaak Walton. Biſhop Morley's will might ſerve as a model in this age, ſo neglectful of the charge and privileges that our wealth lays upon us, when few men in their laſt appointments make any proviſion for the Church and the poor. It marks his earneſt deſire to promote the ſpiritual advancement of his dioceſe. "As to my worldly goods and eſtate which it hath pleaſed God to entruſt me with, part whereof I have already beſtowed unto God, by giving it unto the Church, and to the poor for God's ſake; and as to the remainder, all my books to the dean and Chapter of Wincheſter, and to their ſucceſſors, for and towards a public library, but not for them, and their ſucceſſors' uſe and benefit only, but alſo for the uſe and benefit of ſuch clergymen and country parſons, vicars, and curates of my Dioceſs, as have not a ſufficient ſtock of books of their own, nor have money to buy them." "I give £1,000 for the purchaſing of £50 per an. yearly for ever; and of which I give £20 per an. for an augmentation to the Vicaridge of Farnham in Surrey, to be paid preſently after it is purchaſed, which I hope will be in ſix months after my deceaſe, if not before I die, to the preſent Vicar and his ſucceſſors, by £10 every half year for ever: but upon condition, Firſt, that the Vicar who is to have this augmentation, ſhall always reſide upon this Vicaridge, notwithſtanding any diſpenſation. Second, upon condition alſo that he or his curates do read the Common Prayer, not only on Sundays and Holydays, Wedneſdays and Fri-

days, but *every day in the week, morning and evening*, at some such hours, as most of devout and well affected people may most conveniently resort unto it. Item £20 a year for an augmentation of maintainance to the two Parish Churches of Guildford, and £10 for an augmentation to the Vicaridge of Horswell, in Surrey, upon condition the vicar for the time being do read the Service of the Church, or the Common Prayer, *morning and evening daily*, as the Vicar of Farnham is obliged to do."

Ken might now be supposed to have lost his best patron, and with him the prospect of further promotion. Faithful and intrepid monitors of royalty are not usually sharers in court favours. As he had never sought these, we might expect that, amidst the prevailing corruption, one so innocent and unpretending would be overlooked. But it was otherwise ordained. Though he had dared to rebuke the king's mistress, and thus to remind Charles himself of his own neglected duties, he met with a very unexpected return.

Charles was not wanting in discernment of character; he at least knew how to reverence in another the dignity of virtues he could not imitate. He who had once knelt at the bed side of Bishop Duppa to ask a Tutor's dying blessing now generously forgave, if ever he seriously resented, his Chaplain's conscientious faithfulness in reproof. Ken's simplicity and blameless life had commended him to the veneration of all men: his bold and fervid eloquence inspired even the thoughtless monarch with a sense of awe. On a former occasion, when he was appointed to preach before the Court at Whitehall, Charles left the circle of his vicious flat-

terers, ſaying "I muſt go and hear Ken tell me of my faults." Now when he was to decide on the appointment of a new Biſhop, he enquired in his own characteriſtic way, "Where is the good little man that refuſed his lodging to poor Nell?"

Independently of this perſonal reſpect, other conſiderations perhaps weighed with the King in Dr. Ken's advancement. He could not doubt his allegiance in all that might conſiſt with the intereſts of the Church. Moreover, Ken held the doctrines of paſſive obedience, and non-reſiſtance; therefore might be expected to maintain the prerogative of the Crown in any extremity. And where could Charles hope to find a more ſtedfaſt loyaliſt than in the friend of Morley, and the brother of Walton? Honeſt Izaak had been entruſted, after the battle of Worceſter, with the cuſtody of the leſſer George. He received it from Mr. Milward, a loyaliſt priſoner in the garriſon of Stafford, and reſtored it to Colonel Blague, who gave it into the King's own hand.*

Ken had always ſhown a ſtedfaſtneſs of principle, equally removed from both extremes in religious controverſy. Whilſt he oppoſed Papal innovations, and avowed his attachment to the "Proteſtant Reformed Church of England," he had no ſympathy with prejudices that rejected the very word "*Catholic*," and denounced the ſolemn rites of religion, and the doctrines of Sacramental grace, as Popiſh and ſuperſtitious. It was even ſaid that the King, and Duke of York

* Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Order of the Garter, p. 228.

entertained the hope that he might be brought over to the Roman faith.

Be this as it may, the death of his friend Morley was the immediate prelude to his own advancement. Dr. Mews being tranſlated from Bath and Wells to Wincheſter, it was at once reſolved that Ken ſhould be appointed to the former See. "The King himſelf ſtopped all attempts of his friends (who would of their own inclination have applied in his behalf) with this remarkable ſaying, that Dr. Ken ſhould ſucceed, but that he deſigned it ſhould be from his own peculiar appointment, and accordingly the king himſelf gave order for a *Congé d'elire* to paſs the Seals for that purpoſe."* Lord Sunderland thus writes to Dr. Mews;

"Whitehall, 4th Nov. 1684.

"My Lord,

"THE King having been pleaſed to nominate your Lordſhip (of whoſe good ſervices to the Church and himſelf he is abundantly ſatisfied) to ſucceed the late Lord Biſhop of Winton in that See, I would not omit adviſing you thereof by the firſt opportunity: and alſo to let you know the particular ſatisfaction I have in it, as being

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.‡

The following letter of the ſame date in the Lord Chamberlain's office, appointing another Chaplain to

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* Hawkins, p. 8. † Morley died 29th October, 1684.

‡ Secretary of State's Letter Books.

preach in Ken's ſtead, ſhows that there was no heſitation in the King's mind.

" Court at Whitehall, Nov. 4th, 1684.

" Sir,

" WHEREAS I have thought fit to appoint you to give your attendance upon His Majeſtie, and preach in the moneth of February, *in the place of Dr. Ken, who is removed to be a Biſhop*, Theſe are therefore to pray and require you to take notice hereof, and that you may make your repayre unto His Majeſtie's Court wherefoever it ſhall then be, &c. &c.

Your loving friend,

ARLINGTON."

For Mr. Henry Fox, one of His Majeſtie's Chaplaynes in ordinary in wayting in ye moneth of February.

After his election, he went through the uſual forms of Confirmation, and took once more the OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, that turning point of the events which marked the laſt twenty years of his life. At length the day of his conſecration was fixed for the 25th of January, 1685. They only who have known the inner thoughts of reſponſibility and miſgiving that poſſeſſed their own minds, when they themſelves were called to any holy function in the Church, can appreciate the ſpirit of the prayer and ſelf humiliation in which he muſt have prepared himſelf. He was conſecrated at Lambeth Palace on the Feſtival of St. Paul, the 25th of January 1685. There had been few periods in the hiſtory of the Engliſh Church, when the duties of the office more needed the qualities of that great

Apoſtle: and ſeldom, perhaps, was it undertaken with more ſingleneſs of purpoſe, humility, and ſelf devotion. He could not but foreſee that perilous times would come; and like St. Paul he was "willing to be offered." His fears were ſoon verified in the confuſions that prevailed; in his ſufferings he bore teſtimony to the ſteadfaſt faith which animated him.

His friend Francis Turner had been made Biſhop of Rocheſter in 1683, and in the next year tranſlated to Ely: he had now the happineſs to give Ken his bleſſing, and with the Archbiſhop and others to lay his hands upon his head, that he might receive admiſſion into the ſame holy office. The conſecration ſermon was preached by another early Wykehamiſt friend, and Co-Fellow of Wincheſter College, Edward Young, a Prebendary of Saliſbury. Fortunately this is extant: it contains paſſages of great force, which throw light on ſome points of Ken's character. Perhaps he had exacted of the preacher a promiſe to abſtain from anything like praiſe. His affection, founded on a long acquaintance with his virtues, could not be entirely repreſſed: but he has treated his ſubject with ſuch ſkill, that he draws throughout the true portrait of his friend, though given in the perſon of Timothy, as combining all the qualities of "a man of confirmed Faith."

His text is taken from the 2nd Epiſtle of St. Paul to Timothy ch. i. v. 6. "*Wherefore I put thee in remembrance that thou ſtir up the Gift of God, which is in thee by the laying on of hands.*" He bleſſes God for the great happineſs and glory of the Church in the King's ſolicitude to make choice of one who by his

ardent love and zeal would lead men towards Heaven. Speaking of the unwillingneſs of Biſhops in the primitive ages to undertake the office, from its reſponſibilities and danger, he intimates that Ken had not only been "wiſh't and nominated, but ſought, woo'd and commanded out of his retirement to the undertaking of the charge." He tells him not to ſcruple; for "when God (Who makes ſufficient whom He pleaſeth) determines ſuch a charge for a man, then compliance is ſafe, and the bleſſing indubitable; it is a providential deſignation," &c.

The Gift or Effuſion of the Holy Ghoſt, which Timothy received at his conſecration, he diſtributes into three particular graces, enumerated by St. Paul in the verſe following the text, *might*, *love*, and a *ſound mind;* and all theſe he applies to Ken with ſuitable encouragements and advice.*

He winds up his eloquent diſcourſe with this exhortation and promiſe to Ken: "And now (O Timothy) ſee, here are the arts of thy Government; continue in theſe, and thou needeſt no other policy; God will take all the other care that is neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of His own Church. Do thou "ſtir up the Gift of God which is in thee;" do thou quicken the divine "coal that toucheth thee," and thy coal ſhall blaze into a flame, and thy flame ſhall be ennobled into a ſtar, a vaſt orb of light, ſuch as ſhall crown the head of all thoſe happy men, who by their conduct and example "turn many unto righteouſneſs."

Thus at the age of 48 Ken was raiſed to the moſt

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* Appendix C.

responsible labours of the Church, he had always loved with such a consistent devotion. He was no longer to enjoy a retirement, that favours the sacrifice of earthly affections, being called to a wider range of public duties. Yet in this elevation we shall find him more and more fervent in the exercise of the lowly graces of charity, self denial, and prayer. In all his previous offices he had maintained an unblemished purity, and subjection of his will to the law of Christ, not less required, though more difficult to cherish, amid the engagements and distractions of a higher sphere. His stedfastness had already been tried in a subordinate station. Now, as the favourite of an irreligious Prince, whose very preference of him might involve temptations to unfaithful acquiescence, he was called to a yet more rigid exercise of constancy in maintaining the truth of doctrine, and purity of life, openly set at nought in a profligate court. To be humble and meek, yet jealous for God's honour, patient and forbearing, yet bold in reproof, required the exercise of qualities not generally united in the same person.

It was on Sunday, and the Festival of the Conversion of St. Paul, that he had been consecrated a Bishop. Could we but follow him into his closet on that night, what a picture would be offered to us of a penitent, humble man, prostrate on the ground in fervent prayer to his Lord. How little congenial with the surrounding tumult of a dissipated city was his employment on that evening of his earthly exaltation, imploring the graces of the Holy Spirit, by Whom alone he could himself attain to any perfection, or teach mankind the value of their undying souls. This is no imaginary

picture of Ken's employment on the evening of his consecration. It had been usual on these occasions for the new Bishop, at his own charge, but in the palace of the Archbishop, to give "a very splendid and magnificent dinner to the greatest of the nobility, clergy, judges, privy counsellors, &c. honouring it with their presence."* Instead of this he dedicated the sum it would have cost to a holier purpose.

He was poor in this world's possessions. In disposing of the income of his Fellowship, and Prebendal stall at Winchester, he considered himself simply as God's almoner. To purchase a heavenly treasure he had parted with all he had; so that when he was consecrated Bishop, Mr. Francis Morley, the nephew of his late friend, "knowing how little he had provided for such an expence as attends the entry and continuance in such a chair, most generously offered, and lent him, a considerable sum to defray his expences, and furnish him with an equipage as his station required."† But even of this benevolence he made a first fruit's offering to the glory of God. In the general list of contributors to the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral, destroyed in the late fire of London, we find this entry:—

January 26th, 1684-5, Dr. Thomas Ken, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, in lieu of his consecration dinner and gloves.‡	£100

* Chamberlayne's Angliæ Notitiæ, part ii. p. 22, 1682.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 20.

‡ Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's Cathedral, p. 168. Dr. John Fell first set this example two years before, when he was consecrated to the See of Oxford.

This was on Monday, the day after his consecration. Well might Hawkins say, "if any should imagine that he was given to extravagance, in that having enjoyed such preferments he was still poor, it may be observed that, if there can be an extravagant in good works, he was such in that most excellent gift of charity."* And again, "his whole fortune lying in his preferments, those of his relations who were necessitous (but whom he could never regard the less for their being so) were a continual drain on his revenue: and he seemed to joy with those who lived in more plenty, not more for their own well being, than that thereby he was at liberty to dispense the remainder of his income to necessitous strangers, which he always did with so open a bounty, that he became *a common father to all the sons and daughters of affliction.*"†

And now, in order to estimate the difficulties that were likely to beset his path, let us, from the meditations of this prayerful Christian "in his closet addresses to his God,"‡ turn to the spectacle of King Charles, and his dissolute court, on the same evening. "I can never forget, (says the faithful chronicler and witness of the scene) the inexpressible luxury, and prophaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which I was witness of, the King sitting and toying with his concubines Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, &c. a French boy singing love-songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers, and other dissolute persons, were at Basset

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 21. † Ibid. p. 22. ‡ Ibid. p. 5.

round a large table, a bank of at leaſt £2,000 in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen, who were with me, made reflections with aſtoniſhment. *Six days after all was in the duſt.*"*

Yes,—within one ſhort week from his conſecration, Ken, "who was in greater favour than all the Biſhops,"† was ſuddenly ſummoned to the bed ſide of the dying King. The cold hand was already laid upon him. Diſmay and confuſion now reigned within the palace, which but as yeſterday furniſhed a ſcene of ſuch manifold wickedneſs as Evelyn ſays, "he had never before ſeen."‡ The death-ſummons came over that ungodly crew like the hand-writing on the wall at Belſhazzar's feaſt. "Then the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him, ſo that the joints of his loins were looſed, and his knees ſmote one againſt the other." Burnet thus deſcribes the fatal attack of Charles; "the phyſician was ſcarce come in, when the King, who ſeemed all the while to be in great confuſion, fell down all of a ſudden in a fit, like an apoplexy: he looked black, and his eyes turned in his head."§

Did we juſtly view it, the life of a reprobate man is a dreadful ſpectacle; how much more his death! Whether peaſant or king, each is ſuſceptible of the ſame vileneſs, each reſerved for a like doom, according to the meaſure of his opportunities miſuſed. In life, a throne can lift the one but a few ſteps above the

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 585.

† Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times.

‡ Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 579.

§ Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times.

earth on which the other toils: in death, a common grave reduces them to a level; some few feet above or below the surface makes the king, or the corpse. Ken could not but be deeply affected by the awful scene. Where he had before been a monitor, he would now fain act the part of a comforter. To this end he must do all within his power to awaken the King to some timely repentance, and so snatch him, if God should permit, from the avenging angel, whose sword was even now lifted above his guilty, though anointed head.

"Archbishop Sancroft, and the Bishops of London, Durham and Ely were present; but more especially Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells."* "And now, at this juncture it was, when the King's period of life drew near, his distemper seizing his head, and our Bishop, well knowing how much had been put off to that last point, and fearing the strength of his distemper would give but little time (as indeed it proved) his duty urging him, he gave a close attendance by the royal bed, *without any intermission at least for three whole days and nights*, watching at proper intervals, to suggest pious and proper thoughts, and ejaculations on so serious an occasion."† "Having homely urged the necessity of a full, and prevailed, as is hoped, for a sincere repentance, the Bishop several times proposed the administration of the Holy Sacrament. But although it was not absolutely rejected, it was yet delayed from time to time, till (I know not by what authority)

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 580.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 10.

the Biſhop, and all others preſent, were put forth from the preſence for about the ſpace of half an hour, during which time it has been ſuggeſted that Father Huddleſtone was admittted to give extreme unction."*

Such is the ſimple narrative of Hawkins, the Biſhop's nephew, and no doubt derived from Ken himſelf. It differs eſſentially from that of Burnet, who was not preſent, and according to his frequent cuſtom ventures unauthenticated and prejudiced ſtatements. He admits, however, that Ken "applied himſelf much to the awakening of the King's conſcience. He ſpoke with great elevation both of thought and expreſſion, like a man inſpired, as thoſe who were preſent told me. He reſumed the matter often, and pronounced many ſhort ejaculations and prayers which affected all that were preſent, except him that was the moſt concerned, who ſeemed to take no notice of him, and made no anſwers to him. He preſſed the King ſix or ſeven times to receive the Sacrament: but the King always declined it, ſaying he was very weak. A table with the elements upon it, ready to be conſecrated, was brought into the room, which occaſioned a report to be then ſpread about that he had received it. Ken preſſed him to declare that he deſired it, and that he died in communion of the Church of England. To that he anſwered nothing. Ken aſked him if he deſired abſolution of his ſins. It ſeems the King, if he then thought anything at all, thought that would do him no hurt. So Ken pronounced it over him: for which he was blamed, ſince the King expreſſed no ſenſe of

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 12.

sorrow for his past life, nor any purpose of amendment. It was thought to be a prostitution of the peace of the Church, to give it to one who, after a life led as the King's had been, seemed to harden himself against everything that could be said to him."*

Nothing can be more culpably erroneous than this last part of Burnet's statement. It is one of the many instances of the prejudice and unscrupulous boldness of this writer, who was a principal mover of the Revolution, and implacable towards the house of Stuart, of which Ken was so inflexible an adherent. Burnet was a powerful disputant in the controversies of his time: as an historian, so partial, that our admiration of his talents frequently yields to astonishment at his unfaithfulness. As a counsellor of William, he inflicted deep wounds on the Church of England, and lent his aid to abolish in Scotland the Apostolic rule. His account of the last moments of Charles is inconsistent with itself. He would have it appear that the King neither thought, nor spoke, nor cared about religion: yet in another place he admits that "after such a confession to Huddlestone, the Priest, as he could make (in his exhausted state) and receiving absolution, and the other Sacraments, he seemed to be at great ease upon it." He was not present at the scene; and he might have given Bishop Ken credit for an exact judgment in pronouncing the peace of the Church, admitting, as he does, that he "spoke like a man inspired."

Surely we may believe, that in the long days and nights, during which this holy messenger had watched

* Burnet's Hist. of his own Times.

by the bed ſide of the dying King, while his exhortations were ſeconded by pain, and the fearful looking for of what was to come, he could beſt decide on the proper moment for pronouncing abſolution. He was aided, too, by the judgment of the four other prelates who were preſent. Ken knew the miniſterial authority committed to him. Our Church, in her Ordination Office, has ſolemnly inveſted her prieſts with the power of abſolution. In her Order for the Viſitation of the Sick, ſhe has directed them, on confeſſion of ſin, to pronounce pardon "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt." We could, therefore, readily excuſe the Biſhop, if for the "Lord's anointed" he felt a deep,—nay, even were it an indulgent,—anxiety to convey to him the moſt joyful tidings that could be brought to the ears of a dying man. Great is the value of an immortal ſoul, over which the angels of heaven rejoice: and with all the awful apprehenſions we muſt ever entertain of the efficacy of a death-bed repentance, Ken would loſe nothing in our eſteem, if he yearned to pronounce the bleſſing, "By His authority committed unto me I abſolve thee."*

But he requires no apology: Burnet's aſſertions that Charles died impenitent, and that Ken improperly gave him abſolution, are ſimply unfounded. We have the cleareſt evidence of thoſe who were preſent that the King repeatedly confeſſed his ſins, and gave tokens of contrition.

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* The Viſitation of the Sick.—Book of Common Prayer.

1st. We have seen from Hawkins's account (the best of all testimony, because he must have received it from Ken himself) that "the Bishop urged the necessity of a full, and *prevailed, as is hoped, for a sincere repentance.*"*

2nd. The Duke of York, the King's brother, tells us that "the Bishop of Bath, and another Bishop, read the Visitation of the Sick, when the King was despaired of. The King saying that he repented of his sins, the Bishop read Absolution to him."†

3rd. We have a detailed statement of the whole scene from the Chaplain of the Bishop of Ely, who was in the room. Though certainly not free from the adulation which then so deeply infected all within the influence of the court, it may be taken as some cumulation of proof. Among other things he says "'twas a great piece of Providence that this fatal blow was not so sudden as it would have been, if he had died on Monday, when the fit first took him. By these few days' respite he had opportunity (which accordingly he did embrace) of thinking of another world. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, watching on Wednesday night (as my Lord had done the night before) there appearing then some danger, began to discourse with him as a Divine: and therefore he did continue the speaker for the rest to the last, the other Bishops giving their assistance both by prayers and otherwise, as they saw occasion, with very good ejaculations, and

* Life of Ken, p. 11.

† Macpherson's Original papers, vol. i. p. 142.

ſhort ſpeeches, till his ſpeech quite left him; and afterwards by lifting up his hand, expreſſing his attention to the prayers."*

4th. The laſt and moſt concluſive teſtimony of the King's penitence is Huddleſtone's "*Brief Account.*"—"I was called, he ſays, into the King's bed-chamber, where approaching to the bed-ſide and kneeling down, I in brief preſented his Majeſty with what ſervice I could perform for God's honour, and the happineſs of his ſoul at this laſt moment on which eternity depends. The King then declared himſelf: that he deſired to die in the Faith and Communion of the Holy Roman Catholic Church; that he was moſt heartily ſorry for all the ſins of his life paſt, and particularly that he had deferred his reconciliation ſo long; and through the merits of Chriſt's Paſſion he hoped for Salvation; that he was in charity with all the world; that with all his heart he pardoned his enemies, and deſired pardon of all thoſe whom he had anywiſe offended, and that if it pleaſed God to ſpare him longer life, he would amend it, deteſting all ſin. I then advertized his Majeſty of the benefit and neceſſity of the Sacrament of Penance, which advertizement the King moſt willingly embracing, made an exact confeſſion of his whole life with exceeding compunction and tenderneſs of heart; which ended, I deſired him in further ſign of repentance and true ſorrow for his ſins to ſay with me this little ſhort act of contrition 'O my Lord God, with my whole heart and ſoul I deteſt all the ſins of my life paſt, for the love of Thee, whom I love above

* Ellis's Original Letters, 1ſt Series, vol. iii. p. 335.

all things; and I firmly purpose by Thy Holy Grace never to offend Thee more: Amen, sweet Jesus, Amen. Into thy hands, sweet Jesus, I commend my soul; mercy, sweet Jesus, mercy.' This he pronounced with a clear and audible voice; which done, and his sacramental penance admitted, I gave him absolution. After receiving the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, he repeated the Act of Contrition, raising himself up, and saying 'let me meet my Heavenly Lord in a better posture than in my bed,' &c. and so he received his Viaticum with all the symptoms of devotion imaginable."*

So much for Burnet's first charge: but he goes on to say that "Ken was also censured for another piece of indecency: he presented the Duke of Richmond, Lady Portsmouth's son, to be blessed by the King. Upon this, some that were in the room cried out, the King was their common Father. And upon that all kneeled down for his blessing, which he gave them." Again; "the King recommended Lady Portsmouth over and over again to the Duke: he said he had always loved her, and he loved her now to the last; and besought the Duke in as melting words as he could fetch out to be very kind to her and her son. He recommended his other children to him: and concluded 'let not poor Nelly starve,' that was Mrs. Gwyn. But he said nothing of the Queen, nor any

* "Brief Account of Particulars occurring at the happy death of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second in regard to Religion; faithfully related by his then assistant Jo. Huddleston." — 4to. 1685.

one word of his people, or of his ſervants." And in another part, ſpeaking of the King's inſenſibility to "the weighty obſervations made to him by Archbiſhop Sancroft, and Ken," he ſays, "of this too viſible an inſtance appeared, ſince Lady Portſmouth ſat on the bed, taking care of him as a wife of a huſband."

All the parts of this narrative, as far as they relate to the Queen, and Biſhop Ken, and Lady Portſmouth, are the very reverſe of the truth.

1ſt. Hawkins declares that "the Ducheſs of Portſmouth coming into the room, whilſt the Biſhop was ſuggeſting pious and proper thoughts and ejaculations on ſo ſerious an occaſion, *Ken prevailed with His Majeſty to have her removed*, and took that occaſion of repreſenting the injury and injuſtice done to his Queen ſo effectually, that His Majeſty was induced to ſend for the Queen, and aſking pardon had the ſatisfaction of her forgiveneſs before he died."*

2nd. The Biſhop of Ely's Chaplain ſays — "the firſt thing the King did, on coming out of his fit, was to aſk for the Queen; ſhe had been preſent with him as long as her extraordinary paſſion would give her leave; but this at length threw her into fits, and ſhe then being compelled to retire, when the King aſked for her, ſhe was obliged to "ſend a meſſage to him to excuſe her abſence, and to beg his pardon, if ever ſhe had offended him in all her life. He replied 'Alas! poor woman, ſhe beg my pardon! I beg hers with all my heart.'"†

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* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 11.

† Ellis's Original Letters, 1ſt Series, vol. iii. p. 337.

3rd. Barillon, the French Ambaſſador, who was alſo preſent, wrote a full account immediately to Louis XIV. He deſcribes the Ducheſs of Portſmouth's anxiety to have a Catholic Prieſt ſent for, that Charles might be reconciled to the Roman Church. "Monſieur Ambaſſador, ſhe ſaid to him, I am going to tell you the greateſt ſecret in the world, and my head would be in danger if it was known. The king of England at the bottom of his heart is a Catholic; but he is ſurrounded with Proteſtant Biſhops, and nobody tells him his condition, nor ſpeaks to him of God. *I cannot with decency enter the room; beſides that the Queen is almoſt conſtantly there:* the Duke of York thinks of his own affairs, and has too many of them to take the care he ought of the King's conſcience. Go and tell him I have conjured you to warn him to think of what can be done to ſave the King's ſoul. He commands the room, and can turn out whom he will: loſe no time, for if it is deferred ever ſo little, it will be too late."

4th. The Duke of York, in his notes of the King's death, ſays he ſpoke moſt tenderly of the Queen in his laſt moments. And the Earl of Ailſbury, another perſonal witneſs of the ſcene, writing to Mr. Leigh of Adleſtrop, indignantly denies the aſſertion of Burnet: he calls him "a notorious liar from beginning to end. My good King and maſter falling upon me in his fit, I ordered him to be blooded, and then went to fetch the Duke of York, and when we came to the bed-ſide

* Dalrymple's Memoirs. Appendix to vol. i. p. 95.

we found the Queen there, and the impoſtor ſays it was the Duchefs of Portſmouth."*

As to Ken's preſenting the Duke of Richmond to be bleſſed,—it would have been no great "indecency," as Burnet calls it, if he had aſked the parental bleſſing on a ſon (then only thirteen years of age) whoſe unhappy birth was no fault or crime of his. But it was not the fact; there was no occaſion for his doing ſo. Dr. Turner's Chaplain informs us that the King "recommended to the care of the Duke of York all his children by name, except the Duke of Monmouth, whom he was not heard ſo much as to make mention of. He bleſſed all his children one by one, pulling them on the bed: and then the Biſhops moved him, as he was the Lord's anointed, and the father of his country, to bleſs them alſo, and all that were there preſent, and in them the whole body of his ſubjects. Whereupon the room being full, all fell down upon their knees, and he raiſed himſelf in his bed, and very ſolemnly bleſſed them all. This was ſo like a great good Prince, and the ſolemnity of it ſo very ſurpriſing, as was extremely moving, and cauſed a general lamentation throughout; and no one hears it without being much affected with it, being new and great."†

We cannot concur in this panegyric on Charles as "a great good Prince," any more than we admit the juſtice of Burnet's opprobrious compariſon of him to the "monſter Tiberius." It is certain his death occaſioned a general ſorrow: he was an indulgent father,

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* European Magazine, vol. xxvii. p. 221.

† Ellis's Original Letters. Series 1. vol. p. 338.

a kind maſter; his courteous and eaſy manners endeared him to the people, who are not uſually the moſt accurate obſervers of character. In the many viciſſitudes of his fortune he loſt the opportunities of ſhowing himſelf a great man; his vices prevailed to render him an inglorious King.

CHAPTER XII.

Acceſſion of James II. — Early Meaſures of the King for the eſtabliſhment of the Roman Catholic Religion — Ken's firſt viſit to Wells — The Palace at Wells — His Sermon at Whitehall on the character of Daniel — Coronation of James.

BISHOP KEN'S cloſe attendance at the death-bed of Charles, ſo immediately after his conſecration, prevented any thought of the uſual forms for his admiſſion to the temporalities of the See, which required the King's ſign manual. But as ſoon as James came to the throne "new inſtruments were prepared for that purpoſe, and he was accordingly in full poſſeſſion of his revenues."*

It was a time of difficulty and danger to the Church. Much laxity and indifference prevailed; many of the Clergy were non-reſident, eccleſiaſtical diſcipline was remiſs, and ſchiſm abounded. Ken's firmneſs and circumſpection, his courage and meekneſs were all taſked to harmonize men's minds, and keep them ſtedfaſt to the truth, when it ſeemed to be endangered by the King's undiſguiſed endeavour to eſtabliſh Popery. He had long ſince abjured the Church of England. There can be no doubt this was previous to the death † of his firſt wife, Anne Hyde, who had alſo embraced the

* Hawkins' Life of Ken, p. 12. † In 1671.

Romish Faith, probably through his influence. So early as the 30th of March 1673, "at the Sermon coram rege, preached by Dr. Sparrow, Bishop of Exeter, to a most crouded auditorie, I staid" (says Evelyn) "to see whether, according to custom, the Duke of York received the Communion with the King; but he did not, to the amazement of everybody. This being the second year he had forbore and put it off, and within a day of the Parliament sitting, who had lately made so severe an act against the encrease of Popery, gave exceeding griefe and scandal to the whole nation, that the heir of it, and the son of a martyr for the Protestant religion, should apostatize. What the consequence of this will be God only knows, and wise men dread."*

In 1678 Archbishop Sancroft, assisted by Bishop Morley, had an interview with him in his closet, to represent the danger of his secession, and to urge his return. After eulogizing the Anglican Church, and reminding him that he "had been born within her happy pale and communion, and baptized into her holy Faith," the Archbishop proceeded; "your Royal father, that blessed Martyr of ever glorious memory, who loved her, and knew how to value her, and lost his all in this world for her, even his life too, bequeathed you to her at the last. When he was ready to turn his back on an impious and ungrateful world, and had nothing else now left him but this excellent religion (which he thought not only worth three kingdoms, but ten thousand worlds) he gave that Queen

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 461.

(the Church) in legacy amongſt you. For thus he beſpoke the king your brother, and in him all that were his, words that deſerve to be written in letters of gold, and to be engraved in braſs or marble. 'If you never ſee my face again, I require and entreat you, as your father, and as your King, that you never ſuffer your heart to receive the leaſt check or diſſatisfaction from the true religion eſtabliſhed in the Church of England. I tell you I have tried it, and after much ſearch, and many diſputes, have concluded it to be the beſt in the world.'"* But it was all in vain: James replied to the Biſhops that he alſo had taken all the pains he could to examine the grounds of his religious faith, that he had not made the change haſtily, or without foreſight of the inconveniences that muſt enſue to him from it; and requeſted that he might not be further urged by any diſcuſſions.

His acceſſion had been greeted with the acclamations of the people, who vainly truſted to his promiſes of tenderneſs for the Church of England; but it was not long e'er theſe hopes were diſappointed. Suſpicion ſoon began to obſcure the ſunſhine of popularity, which generally beams on a new reign. His open celebration of the maſs, his encouragement of Roman Prieſts and Jeſuits, and the immediate choice of Papiſts to offices of truſt in Ireland, betrayed his deſign to overthrow the Anglican faith. Religion thus became an encreaſing ſource of violent controverſy and faction. Inſtead of endeavouring to cement the affections of his ſubjects through a common ritual, he

* D'Oyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 167.

had reſolved to ſubſtitute his own will for the conſtituted laws, and to reduce the ſpiritual intereſts of the kingdom to a foreign rule. He could not eſtimate the unchangeable purpoſe of the whole nation to maintain the reformed religion. In this unequal conteſt he was prepared to riſk his throne, placing his whole reliance on the queſtionable fidelity of his army, commanded by Roman Catholic officers; his only other ſupport being a few catholic noblemen, and a band of emiſſaries from the papal court.

But we muſt follow Biſhop Ken to Wells, that we may witneſs his introduction to the Dioceſe. The firſt dedication of himſelf in the cathedral was an event of deep intereſt to all. It muſt have been a ſolemn and impreſſive ſcene, when, preceded by his Clergy, he entered the weſtern doors amidſt the crowds of people, anxious to catch a glimpſe of their future Biſhop. We may well imagine his feelings of awe and reverence, of gratitude and humiliation, as he raiſed his eyes to the vaulted roof of that beautiful temple, henceforward to be the centre of his paſtoral duties; and ſtill more when he was conducted to the epiſcopal throne. In dedicating his Hymnarium to Dr. Hooper, afterwards his ſucceſſor in the See, he thus expreſſes the feelings of that moment:

> Among the Herdmen, I a common ſwain,
> Liv'd pleas'd with my low cottage on the plain;
> Till up, like Amos, on a ſudden caught,
> *I to the Paſt'ral Chair was trembling brought.*

The Palace at Wells, even to this day, retains much of its former character. It ſtands in the midſt of a garden, ſurrounded by a once fortified wall, at the foot

of which is a fountain of the pureſt water, that burſts from St. Andrew's well, and paſſing round the palace flows through the town. A high terraced walk, within ramparts, overlooks the garden and palace: without are meadows extending to the foot of the Mendip hills. The noble cathedral, cloſe at hand, glowing in all the varied richneſs of Chriſtian art, is ſeen through the mullioned windows of the banqueting hall, now in ruins and overgrown with ivy. This hall had witneſſed the trial and condemnation of Whiting, the courageous Abbot of Glaſtonbury, who ſuffered martyrdom rather than betray the truſts of his Abbey,—that ancient and once ſplendid monument of the wealth and devotion of the Church. At each end of the terrace walk is a ſtone grotto, formed in the angles of the rampart, and covered with ivy. Over the entrance of one of theſe is an inſcription from Horace, cut into a ſtone tablet.

> "Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
> Angulus ridet," &c. &c.—Lib. ii. Od. 6.

The placidneſs of the ſcene, theſe well known lines, and the ſimilarity of character between two holy men, who amid the deeper thoughts of their learning and piety did not refuſe to delight themſelves in the works of the Roman Lyriſt, recall to mind a paſſage in the life of Hooker. "His former pupils, Edwin Sandys, and George Cranmer, took a journey to Draiton Beauchamp to ſee their tutor, and found him with a book in his hand (it was the odes of Horace) he being then like humble and innocent Abel, tending his ſmall allotment of ſheep in a common field."* No leſs

* Walton's Life of Richard Hooker.

humble and innocent was Bishop Ken, though living in a palace. Both are bright ornaments of the English Church, hallowed to our remembrance by the purity of their lives, and the undying worth of the writings they have bequeathed to us.

There Ken might walk, and read, and meditate, and mature his plans for the welfare of his people. There too, not long after, he decided on the courageous stand to be made, first against a Roman Catholic, and then against a Protestant King, when they successively invaded the rights of the Church. Under both trials he was ready to sacrifice, and at length did yield up, not this garden of pleasures only, but all he had or hoped for on earth, rather than betray the trust committed to him. This grotto, we may be sure, was the silent witness of his frequent and fervent aspirations to the heavenly throne. If those yews, and ivy-grown walls, could give utterance, what holy thoughts, and prayers, and hymns sung to his lute, would they record.

These were the tranquil scenes of his literary labours, which at once began to employ his pen in the service of the Church. The press already teemed with controversy between the communions of England and Rome. We may derive some notion of the height this had reached from the mere titles of discourses, to be found in any of the numerous collections of tracts of that time, which are still extant. We may take as a specimen the contents of one out of 19 quarto volumes in a private collection.

"A Papist Mis-Represented and Represented, or a twofold Character of Popery, &c. 1686. The Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome truly Re-

preſented: in Anſwer to a Papiſt Miſ-Repreſented, &c. 1686. Reflexions upon the Anſwer to the Papiſt, directed to the Anſwerer. 1686. A Papiſt Not Miſ-Repreſented by Proteſtants, being a Reply to the Reflexions, &c. 1686. Papiſts Proteſting againſt Proteſtant Popery, in Anſwer, &c., being a Vindication of the Papiſts Miſ-Repreſented. 1686. An Anſwer to a Diſcourſe entitled Papiſts Proteſting, &c. containing an Examination of the Expoſition of the Invocation of Saints and Worſhip of Images. 1686. An Amicable Accomodation of the Difference between the Repreſenter and the Anſwerer, &c. 1686. An Anſwer to the Amicable Accomodation, &c. 1686. A Reply to the Anſwer, &c. &c. 1686. A View of the whole Controverſy between the Repreſenter and the Anſwerer, in which are laid open ſome of the Methods by which Proteſtants are Miſ-Repreſented. 1687. The Papiſts Miſ-Repreſented and Repreſented. 3rd part. 1687. An Anſwer to the Repreſenter's Reflections upon the State and View of the Controverſy, ſhowing the Vindication has utterly ruined the New deſign of expounding Popery. 1687."*

But there is no where to be found any one controverſial tract by Biſhop Ken: diſputation was not his element. In the pulpit he did not ſhrink from faithfully explaining and enforcing the doctrines of the Engliſh Church, as diſtinguiſhed from the errors of

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* See alſo "The Catalogue of all the Diſcourſes publiſhed againſt Popery during the Reign of James II." 1689. 4to. It contains nearly two hundred.

Rome, especially when the King's design became more apparent. In this sphere he discoursed most eloquently; but he never stepped beyond it. He was remarkable rather for a life of practical holiness, and of love and zeal in all the branches of his office, than for any forwardness in disputing the popular subjects of the day. Controversy, he knew, had ever been found to exasperate, rather than allay religious differences, to harden men into aversion and mutual reproach, rather than bring them to peace and unity. Whilst others were engaged "in Pleas, and Answers, and Reflections on Answers, Differences of Cases, Remonstrances and Vindications," he set himself in the first year of his Episcopate to prepare the work which exalts his name in the rank of English Divines: "AN EXPOSITION OF THE CHURCH CATECHISM, or the *Practice of Divine Love*." In this he seems to expatiate in unbounded love to God and man. Let the Christian reader, in his retirement, open it at any page; he will see a devout soul kneeling at the feet of Jesus, as if in the enjoyment of a glimpse of Heaven, and yearning after celestial light, and love, and glory. He will hardly refrain from kneeling by his side, to breathe with him the spirit of his prayers.

But before the work could be committed to the press he was summoned to preach his Lent sermon before the Court at Whitehall. According to the London Gazette it was on Sunday, the 8th of March 1685. A few days prior to this, Evelyn, "to his grief, saw the new pulpit set up in the Oratorie (the King's private Chapel) where Mass was now publickly said, and the Romanists swarming at Court with greater confidence

than had ever been, ſince the Reformation; ſo as every body grew jealous to what this would tend."* The King therefore was not preſent to hear the ſermon: but his daughter, the Princeſs of Denmark (afterwards Queen Ann) attended with many of the nobility. "She ſat on the left hand of the King's chair in the gallery, the Clerk of the Cloſet ſtanding on the other ſide, as if his Majeſty had been there: a ſpecial order had been given that the preacher ſhould make "three congées, inſtead of one only,"† as they had been uſed to do.

The Biſhop choſe for his ſubject the character of Daniel,‡ on which he enlarged with glowing eloquence. He preſents him as an example for the imitation of the aſſembled courtiers; as one who, in the midſt of an unbelieving, luxurious, and corrupt court, maintained the worſhip of the true God, a holy ſelf-denial, and an immoveable integrity.

"Daniel," he ſays, "was not of the ſacerdotal, but regal line: he was a Courtier, and not only a Courtier, but a Favourite, and not only a Favourite, but a Miniſter too; ſuch a Courtier, and Favourite, and Miniſter as no age can parallel. And to the Courtier, Favourite and Miniſter he added the aſcetic, and the ſaint. In all theſe reſpects he was, as the margin literally renders it, 'a man of deſires,' or according to the Hebrew idiom, 'a man greatly beloved.' From all theſe materials every of you may ſkill the art to become greatly beloved like him."

After deſcribing Daniel's extraordinary endowments,

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* Diary, Vol. i. p. 588. † Ibid. Vol. i. p. 594.

‡ "*O Daniel, a man greatly beloved.*"—Dan. x. 11.

and the manner in which he devoted them to the ſervice of God under five ſucceſſive monarchs, he continues. "All which made him *greatly belov'd*, greatly belov'd by God, at whoſe glory he ever aim'd; greatly belov'd by all thoſe Kings whom he faithfully ſerv'd; greatly belov'd by the people whoſe good he ſtudied. You have ſeen how love was reciprocal, how Daniel greatly lov'd God, the King, and the People: and this was the ſecret he had, which naturally attracted ſo univerſal a love: a ſecret which is neither too myſterious for your comprehenſion, nor too heroic for your imitation: a ſecret of a certain and approv'd virtue. For goodneſs is awful and amiable to all mankind, and has charms that are irreſiſtible. There is a powerful ſweetneſs, a propitious obligingneſs, and ſuch effuſions and radiations of divinity in it, as commands our affections, and are able to overcome all our averſions; and I am confident that there is no one here but, if he would make the experiment, would find a proportionable ſucceſs."

"Let me then exhort you, let me beſeech you to conſider all the attractions of Divine love, till God's ſovereign love inflame you, and you habitually breathe His praiſes. Learn like Daniel, humility by affliction, purity by temperance; to keep your graces alive by prayer, and by frequenting your Oratory; to ſubdue rebellious nature by faſting and mortifications. Learn from Daniel a univerſal obligingneſs and benignity, an awful love to your Prince, a conſtant fidelity, an unbounded courage, an unwearied zeal in ſerving him. Learn from Daniel an equal mixture of the wiſdom of the ſerpent, and of the innocence of the dove, an inof-

fenſive converſation, a clear integrity, and an impartial juſtice to all within your ſphere. Learn from the man greatly beloved to reconcile policy and religion, buſineſs and devotion, abſtinence and abundance, greatneſs and goodneſs, magnanimity and humility, power and ſubjection, authority and affability, converſation and retirement, intereſt and integrity, Heaven and the Court, the favour of God and the favour of the King; —and then you are maſters of Daniel's ſecret; you will ſecure yourſelves an univerſal and laſting intereſt; you will like him be greatly beloved both by God and man."

The ſermon being ſpecially appointed for the ſeaſon of Lent, he did not neglect the occaſion to urge on his hearers the duty of obſerving the rule of the Church in abſtaining from their ſelf-indulgence, at leaſt on the appointed days, and eſpecially in Lent.

"I mention," he ſays, "this example of Daniel, to ſhow what the ancients thought of Faſting, and how they kept Lent. I do not exhort you to follow them any further than either our climate or our conſtitutions will bear; but we may eaſily follow Daniel in abſtaining from wine, and from the more pleaſurable meats; and ſuch an abſtinence as this, with ſuch a mourning for our ſins, and the ſins of others, is the proper exerciſe of a primitive ſpirit during all the weeks of Lent. For what is Lent, in its original inſtitution, but a ſpiritual conflict to ſubdue the fleſh to the ſpirit, to beat down our bodies, and to bring them into ſubjection? What is it but a penitential martyrdom for ſo many weeks together, which we ſuffer for our own and others' ſins? A devout ſoul that is able to obſerve it faſtens himſelf to the Croſs on

Ash Wednesday, and hangs crucify'd by contrition all the Lent long; that having felt in his closet the burthen and the anguish, the nails and the thorns, and tasted the gall of his own sins, he may by his own crucifixion be better disposed to be crucify'd with Christ on Good Friday, and most tenderly to sympathize with all the dolours, and pressures, and anguish, and torments, and desertion, infinite, unknown, and unspeakable, which God Incarnate endured, when He bled upon the Cross for the sins of the world; that being purified by repentance, and made conformable to Christ crucify'd, he may offer up a pure oblation at Easter, and feel the power, and the joys, and the triumph of the Saviour's Resurrection."

Not long after this he was again summoned from Wells to assist at the Coronation of James, which took place on the 23rd of April, being St. George's day. The King had selected him, although the junior Bishop, to walk by his side, under the canopy of state, in the procession from Westminster Hall, and to be his supporter on the steps of the throne during the ceremonies in the Abbey. His friend, Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, was appointed to preach the coronation sermon. Thus we see the two poor Winchester scholars brought to great eminence, men of serious lives, who esteemed a holy retirement above all the parade of courts, yet sought out by the King, as worthy of the highest marks of favour he could bestow.

The Holy Communion had always formed part of the coronation service. But James could not receive it, as administered in the Anglican Church. Notwithstanding this, he opened Parliament with a speech, in

which he promiſed to ſupport and defend the Church of England, and the people ſeemed diſpoſed to rely on his pledges. The Commons by an unanimous vote ſettled upon him during life the revenues enjoyed by the late king. The ſpeaker, in preſenting the Bill for the Royal aſſent, expreſſed the ſatisfaction of the Houſe in his "Majeſty's gracious and ſacred word, repeated declarations, and aſſurance to ſupport and defend the Religion of the Church of England, as is now by law eſtabliſhed: and we humbly beſeech your majeſty to accept this revenue, and along with it our hearty prayers, that God Almighty would bleſs you with a long life and happy reign to enjoy it." The King thanked them very heartily for the Bill, declaring that their readineſs and cheerfulneſs in the diſpatch of it was as acceptable to him as the Bill itſelf: and that he could not expreſs his thoughts more ſuitably than by aſſuring them he had "a true Engliſh heart, as jealous of the honour of the nation as you can be; and I pleaſe myſelf with the hopes that, by God's bleſſing, and your aſſiſtance, I may carry the reputation of it yet higher in the world than ever it has been in the time of any of my anceſtors."

CHAPTER XIII.

The Duke of Monmouth: his life and character—invades England.

IN the midst of this interchange of civilities between the King and Parliament intelligence arrived that the Duke of Monmouth, one of the natural sons of the late King, had landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, and set up the standard of rebellion in the western counties. The Parliament immediately passed a Bill of attainder against him, offered a reward of 5,000*l.* to any who should bring him in, and having voted 400,000*l.* to the king for the present emergency, both Houses adjourned on the 2nd of July, the members being dismissed to their several counties, where their presence was required to encourage the loyal, and control the disaffected. It appears by the journals of the House of Lords that Ken was present in Parliament on this occasion: but within a few days after we find him in his Diocese, a messenger of charity amidst the din of war, raised by the invasion.

This period of Monmouth's history forcibly illustrates the Bishop's character in two particulars,—his compassion for sufferers, and his stedfastness in carrying out the injunctions of the Church, even when his benevolent feelings would have prompted him to relax the strictness of her rule. It is, therefore, necessary

to enter into ſome brief review of Monmouth's eventful life. He was the eldeſt of Charles II.'s natural children, born at Rotterdam during the King's exile. He firſt went by the name of James Crofts, received his education at Paris under the care of Henrietta Maria, and was brought up a Roman Catholic. At the age of fourteen, ſoon after the Reſtoration, the King ſent for him to Court, provided him a ſtately equipage, appointed for his uſe apartments in the Privy Gallery at Whitehall, and by warrant authorized him to bear the royal arms of England and France. He cauſed him alſo to be reconciled to the Engliſh Church.

He was a youth of lovely form and countenance, perfected in all the graces and accompliſhments of the Court, and ſuch a favourite with the King, that for many years he laviſhed upon him every honour and endearment that an over-indulgent parent could beſtow. At the age of eighteen, having already created him a Peer of Parliament, and a Knight of the Garter, he ſecured for him in marriage the richeſt heireſs of the kingdom, the beautiful Counteſs of Buccleuch, then only ſixteen years of age. The mere liſt of his titles and offices would ſuffice to ſhow the entire devotion of the king's heart to this Abſalom of his houſe.*

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* Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch, Earl of Doncaſter, and Dalkeith, Lord Scott of Tindale, Whitcheſter, and Aſhdale. Lord Great Chamberlain of Scotland, Lord Lieutenant of the Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire, Governor of Kingſton upon Hull, Chief Juſtice in Eyre of all the Foreſts, Chaſes, Parks and Warrens ſouth of the River Trent, Lord General of all the King's Land Forces, Captain of the Life Guards of Horſe, Chancellor of the Univerſity of Cambridge, Maſter of the Horſe, and Lord of the Privy Council, &c.

Charles ſeemed to joy in his ſociety :—wherever he went Monmouth was his choſen companion, or if he ſent him occaſionally to ſerve in the French army, he was everywhere received with the honours due to royalty. The Diaries of Evelyn and Pepys abound with notices of the over-weaning attachment of his father, who ſeemed to love him for his very faults. Theſe were indeed too nearly akin to his own ; for he was a profligate youth, owning no law but his own will. Pepys ſays, " the little Duke of Monmouth is ordered to take place of all Dukes, and ſo follow Prince Rupert, before the Duke of Buckingham or any elſe :" — " The King ſo fond of the Duke of M. that everybody admires it : and the Duke ſays he would be the death of any man, who ſays the King was not married to his mother." " The Duke of Monmouth ſpends his time moſt viciouſly and idly of any man, nor will be fit for any thing : yet ſpeaks confidently of his mother having been married to the King :" " talk of the D. of Monmouth being made Prince of Wales not true :" &c. &c.

We cannot wonder that the King's brother ſhould be alarmed at ſuch indications of an ill-regulated and doting partiality ; and the rather becauſe Monmouth, grown bold by indulgence, began openly to aſpire to the ſucceſſion, aiming at popularity as " the Proteſtant Duke," and lending himſelf to the Whig party, whoſe aim was to exclude James from the throne as a " Popiſh Recuſant." We may paſs over the details of theſe feuds, which have afforded to political writers ſo fertile a theme of mutual recrimination. One thing is certain, that Monmouth's ſagacity and pre-

ſence of mind were unequal to his ambition: his folly was exceeded only by his moral cowardice and ingratitude: he became a tool in the hands of Shaftſbury,* and others who were engaged in deſigns againſt his father's Government.

The King, being now made ſenſible of his dangerous views, and to prevent any future diſpute concerning the ſucceſſion, entered with his own hand in the Council book a declaration, "as in the preſence of Almighty God, that he never gave, nor made, any contract of marriage whatſoever, but to her preſent Majeſty Queen Catherine, now living." This was atteſted by ſixteen Privy Counſellors. He afterwards cauſed a like declaration to be enrolled in Chancery, eſpecially diſclaiming, "on the word of a king, and the faith of a Chriſtian, that he was ever married to Mrs. Barlow, alias Walters, the Duke of Monmouth's mother."†

As a further ſatisfaction to James, Monmouth was baniſhed for a while to Holland: but returning ſhortly after without leave, he made a public progreſs through the weſt of England, every where exciting the people againſt his uncle. One of his panegyriſts deſcribes that in his march through Somerſetſhire "he was careſſed with the joyful acclamations of the country people, who came from all parts twenty miles about, the lanes and hedges being every where lined with men, women, and children, who with inceſſant ſhouts

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* Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 95.

† A Letter to a Perſon of Honour concerning the King's diſavowing, &c. Somers's Tracts, vol. i. p. 82.

cried 'God bless King Charles, and the Protestant Duke.'" In many towns and parishes "they strewed the streets and highways, where he was to pass, with herbs and flowers."* He was sometimes attended by a concourse of 2,000 persons on horseback, and at other times, as on his approach to Exeter, he was met by the citizens and the people of all the adjacent parts to the number of 20,000. On another occasion, "as he entered Chester with his whole train, the flaming piles wherewith the streets were enlightened, and the harmonious noise from the several steeples, loudly proclaimed his welcome, and the extraordinary joy the people conceived for his Grace's presence among them."†

In this manner for three years he continued to be the rallying point of all the disaffected, endeavouring to render the King's government odious, and forgetful of every tie that should bind a son to the fondest of fathers. The King long forbore any proceedings against him: but in June 1683 he was arrested at Stafford by a Serjeant at Arms, under a warrant from the King, declaring that "James Duke of Monmouth hath lately appeared in several parts of this kingdom with great numbers of people in a riotous and unlawful manner, to the disturbance of the public peace, and the terrour of His Majesty's good subjects: these are, therefore to command you forthwith to apprehend the said Duke of Monmouth," &c.

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* Heroick Life, and magnanimous actions of the most illustrious Prince, James Duke of Monmouth. London, 12mo. 1683, p. 101.

† Ibid. p. 127.

At length the Whig faction, being diſappointed in all their endeavours to undermine the Government, entered into a raſh conſpiracy, known as the Rye Houſe Plot, for which Lord William Ruſſel ſuffered death. The merits of that high ſpirited nobleman, the truth or falſehood of the treaſonable part of the charge againſt him and his aſſociates, have been often and variouſly diſcuſſed. If we cannot concur in Mr. Fox's judgment, that "their attempt to deliver their country from the dreadful ſervitude into which it had fallen was clearly laudable," we aſſent to his opinion, that the condemnation, (in the manner of it) and therefore the execution of Ruſſel, "was a violation of law and juſtice." There was ſomething ſo truly Engliſh and generous in his nature, and his death was ſo Chriſtian and brave, that few characters in the range of our hiſtory have met with more honour. It was, no doubt, an ardent love of liberty which prompted him to embark in this futile conſpiracy againſt a government, ſo firmly eſtabliſhed that any momentary ſucceſs muſt have ended in wide ſpread ſuffering, and ſevere retribution. He committed himſelf to aſſociates of whom few had any of his virtues, and therefore few deſerved his confidence: moſt of them proved to be mean, unprincipled cowards, and either fled, or gave evidence againſt him. The impulſes of paſſion over-maſtered his forethought and circumſpection, ſo indiſpenſable in all difficult enterprizes. The reſources at his command were altogether unequal to the end propoſed. We may therefore believe that he had no genius to realize the aſpirations of a fervid mind. The only evidence we have of real greatneſs of character is the

heroic calmneſs of his death, which was worthy of all praiſe.

But for the conduct of Monmouth, in this plot againſt his father, not a word of extenuation can be offered: it bears the deep dye of ingratitude. The king entirely believed that he had entertained the deſign of his aſſaſſination; for he proclaimed him a traitor, offered 500*l.* reward for his ſeizure, and in a declaration, which was read in every Church throughout the land, he deliberately charged this ſon of his affection with having joined in a "treaſonable conſpiracy againſt his ſacred perſon and government." And now by his treacherous and craven conduct he ſhowed how unworthy he was of the friendſhip of ſuch men as Ruſſel, and Sidney, who had embarked with him in his enterprize.

Though it is impoſſible to juſtify their acts, we may believe that a deep ſenſe of the dangers which threatened the Proteſtant religion, and the liberties of England, impelled them to join in the conſpiracy. But his own ſelfiſh projects were the only impulſe of Monmouth's mind. No ſooner did he ſee them fruſtrated than he haſtened to ſecure his own ſafety by unmanly diſcloſures againſt his friends. He wrote a ſubmiſſive letter to the King, confeſſing his guilt, and declaring "if ever again he did any thing againſt the Duke of York, he would never aſk to ſee the King's face again, which was the greateſt curſe he could lay on himſelf." He was admitted to an audience, fell on his knees before the King and the Duke, and implored their pardon: he even demeaned himſelf to write, at their dictation, the letter which

proves him to have been a rebel againſt his father, and has for ever ſtamped him a traitor to his own aſſociates.

"I have heard" (thus he writes to the King) "ſome reports of me, as if I ſhould have leſſened the late Plot, and gone about to diſcredit the evidence given againſt thoſe who have died by juſtice. Your Majeſty and the Duke know how ingenuouſly I have owned the late conſpiracy; and though I am not conſcious of any deſign againſt your Majeſty's life, yet I lament the having had ſo great a ſhare in the other part of the ſaid conſpiracy. Sir, I have taken the liberty to put this in writing for my own vindication; and I beſeech you to look forward, and endeavour to forget the faults you have forgiven me. I will take care never to commit any more againſt you, or come within the danger of being again miſled from my duty; but make it the buſineſs of my life to deſerve the pardon your Majeſty hath granted to

"Your dutiful

"MONMOUTH."

He was quickly made ſenſible of the diſgrace into which he was plunged by this betrayal of his accomplices. Repenting this poor act of repentance, he went to the King, and earneſtly implored him to return the paper, which "he thought was a diminution of his honor." His father anſwered that he would not keep it againſt his will; but warned him not to recall what alone could teſtify the ſincerity of his ſorrow. He perſiſted in his requeſt; and Charles gave him back his letter. But no ſooner had Monmouth got poſſeſſion of the paper,

than *he denied having ever made any acknowledgment of guilt*, thus presenting himself to friends and foes a strange spectacle of alternate rebellion, abjectness, and falsehood. The King for ever banished him from his presence: so he incurred the penalty which he had declared would be "the greatest curse he could lay upon himself," for he retired again to Holland, and saw his father's face no more.

It has been asserted that Charles so far relented as to supply him with money, and to correspond with him; and that, just before his own fatal illness, being unable to endure Monmouth's absence, he meditated his recall. If this were so, it would only mark more emphatically the ingratitude of the son, who could plot against so affectionate a father. The fact receives some confirmation from the flattering attentions paid to him by the Prince and Princess of Orange at the Hague, during the life of the King, who would be gratified by this indulgence. The active part Monmouth had taken against the Catholic Duke might enhance his claim to the favour of the Protestant Stadtholder. But no sooner did the news of Charles's death reach Holland, than all things wore another aspect at the Dutch Court. The Prince found it more to his own interests to treat this avowed enemy of the new King with a prudent reserve.

James II. in his Memoirs would have it believed that the Prince was willing to foment the quarrel between him and Monmouth, "one a Pretender to the throne, the other in possession, and whichever got the better would equally advantage his pretensions. If the Duke of Monmouth (who was illegitimate) succeeded,

it would be eaſy for William, that was a Proteſtant as well as he, and in right of his wife the next heir, to ſhove him off the ſaddle. If on the contrary the Duke of Monmouth was worſted, he got rid of a dangerous rival; and was ſure all his party would have recourſe to him. This made him, underhand, do all he could to inflame the young man's fury and ambition; and ſend him out like a victim to the ſlaughter, playing a ſure game himſelf, to whomſoever fortune ſhould give the advantage."* There appears no ground whatever for this grave accuſation.

As ſoon as James came to the throne he made application to the Prince of Orange, through his envoy at the Hague, to have Monmouth ſecured and ſent to England, before he could form any dangerous deſigns. William was incapable of ſuch an act of treachery, even had it ſuited his plans. He recommended Monmouth to leave Holland, where he could no longer protect him, and gave him money to carry him to Bruſſels. Here, however, he was ſtill purſued by the King's watchful jealouſy: the Spaniſh Governor of the Netherlands ordered him to leave. He could not take refuge in France; for James was already the penſioner, and cloſe ally of Louis. Thus in fear of arreſt whichever way he turned, urged by Argyle, Lord Grey, and other refugees and malcontents, Monmouth was impelled, againſt his own judgment, to precipitate his plans, and make a deſcent on England, before (as was thought) the new King could mature his power. He

* Macpherſon's papers, Vol. i. p. 143.

had, however, no chance of ſucceſs in the preſent good underſtanding between the King and his parliament: he ran upon certain deſtruction. Even the Prince of Orange, who had no ſympathy with James, and had profeſſed great friendſhip for Monmouth, when he ſaw the temper of Parliament to put down the rebellion, offered to come over to England, and in perſon head the troops againſt him.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Duke of Monmouth lands in the Weſt of England—Defeated in the battle of Sedgemoor—Cruelties of Lord Feverſham, and Colonel Kirke—Ken's appeal to the King on behalf of the priſoners—Monmouth condemned to death—Ken attends him on the ſcaffold.

EXCEPT in perſonal bravery, the common attribute of ſoldiers, Monmouth was wanting in all the qualities required for ſuch an enterpriſe as the invaſion of England with a handful of men. His father's indulgence, and the flattery of a court, had inſpired him with ambitious hopes; the breath of popular applauſe had inflated him to a high preſumption: but he had neither deliberative wiſdom to form great plans, judgment to direct, nor moral firmneſs to ſuſtain them; no genius or deciſion to command ſucceſs.

As the appointed day for his embarking from the Texel drew near he began to waver; the difficulties that beſet his path appeared in their true proportions. But this conviction came too late; he was pledged to Argyle, who had already ſailed for Scotland on the faith of his co-operating in England. "I have received both your's this morning" (he writes to one of his adherents) "and cannot delay you my anſwer longer than this poſt, though I fear it will not pleaſe you ſo much as I heartily wiſh it may. I have weighed all your reaſons, and

every thing that you and my other friends have writ to me on the ſubject; and have done it with the greateſt inclination to follow your advice without prejudice. You may well believe I have had time enough to reflect ſufficiently upon our preſent ſtate, eſpecially ſince I came hither. But whatever way I turn my thoughts, I find inſuperable difficulties. Pray do not think it an effect of melancholy, for that was never my greateſt fault, when I tell you that in theſe three weeks' retirement in this place, I have not only looked back, but forward; and the more I conſider our preſent circumſtances, I think them ſtill the more deſperate, unleſs ſome unforeſeen accident fall out, which I cannot divine nor hope for." He then adduces ſome excellent reaſons againſt the enterpriſe,—any one of which ſhould have deterred him from engaging in it. To provide againſt difficulties, or reſolve not to encounter them, is the part of wiſdom—to faulter in the moment of action is weakneſs, and the certain prelude to diſcomfiture.

"And" (he proceeds) "to tell you my thoughts without diſguiſe, I am now ſo much in love with a retired life, that I am never like to be fond of making a buſtle in the world again." He ſighed after the eaſe of retirement, when he ſhould have bravely buckled on his ſword: whilſt he graſped at a diſputed crown, he would fain ſolace himſelf in the repoſe of an unambitious life! The real ſecret of his inconſiſtency was the thraldom of an unhallowed paſſion for Lady Henrietta Wentworth, for whom he had forſaken his amiable and lovely wife, and their children, attempting even to juſtify his deſertion of her on the unmanly plea of their youthful attachment and marriage, which to a generous heart

would endear, if not ſanctify, the union. "Lady Wentworth had followed him to Bruſſels, deſperately in love with him; and both he and ſhe came to fancy that, he being married to his Ducheſs, while he was indeed of the age of conſent, but not capable of a free one, the marriage was null: ſo they lived together; and ſhe had heated both herſelf and him with ſuch enthuſiaſtical conceits, that they fancied what they did was approved of God!"*

"It was," ſays Fox, "with great reluctance that he tore himſelf from the arms of Lady Wentworth, with whom he had ſo firmly perſuaded himſelf that he could be happy in the moſt obſcure retirement, that he believed himſelf weaned from ambition, which had hitherto been the only paſſion of his mind."† Unprepared and irreſolute, fearing to go on, aſhamed to recede, barely eſcaping the vigilance of James's agents, he ſet ſail on the 24th of May, with three ſhips and 150 followers. After a tedious paſſage he landed at Lyme on the 11th of June. There drawing his ſword, he knelt down, and uttered a prayer to the God of Truth, Who in every part of His divine word commands obedience to rulers, and honour to kings, beſeeching Him to bleſs the cauſe of rebellion, founded on pretenſions which he himſelf knew to be falſe.

He publiſhed a long inflated proclamation, full of abſurd reproaches againſt "James Duke of York." He charges him with the burning of London — with being acceſſory to the death of Sir Edmundbury God-

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* Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Times.

† Hiſt. of the Reign of James II. p. 257.

frey — with hiring execrable villains to assassinate the late Earl of Essex — with cruelty and ingratitude in the murder of the late King, "for which villanous and unnatural crime, that barbarous and horrid parricide, executed upon our father, we will prosecute him to death as a mortal and bloody enemy." He asserts his own legitimate right to the crowns of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, "notwithstanding the means used by the late king, his father, upon Popish motives, and at the instigation of the Duke, to weaken and obscure it." He denounces all who shall aid the said Duke of York as enemies of God, mankind, and their country. He "calls heaven and earth to witness to the necessity of their betaking themselves to arms as men and Christians;" appeals to God for the justice of his cause, doubts not the assistance of all Protestant kings, princes, and commonwealths, "who do either regard the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or their own interests." "Above all," (he adds) "our dependence and trust is upon the Lord of Hosts, in whose name we go forth, and to whom we commit our cause, and refer the decision betwixt us and our enemies in the day of battle. Now let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God; and the Lord do that which seemeth good unto Him."*

The answers he received to this mixture of folly, impiety, and falsehood, were the Act of Parliament for his attainder, and the proclamation promising "a reward of 5,000*l.* to any one who shall bring in the person of James Duke of Monmouth, alive or dead."

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* Echard, vol. iii. p. 758. Kennett, p. 428.

Great numbers of the common people, however, flocked to his ſtandard: he advanced to Axminſter, Taunton, Bridgewater, Briſtol, and Bath amid the ſhouts of admiring crowds, gathering an undiſciplined force of about 5,000 men, without military reſources, arms, or money. No doubt many of the gentry ſecretly wiſhed him well, hoping that by any means the country might be ſecured from the Roman aſcendancy: but the Parliament having declared againſt him, few would hazard the danger of joining an inſurrection that offered ſo little hope of a proſperous iſſue.

Monmouth was deceived into a vain confidence by proceſſions of young maidens, ſcattering flowers in his path, and the cries of welcome from a fond populace, admiring his perſonal beauty, and captivated by his gracious manners. Theſe demonſtrations of attachment, and the urgency of injudicious friends, prompted him to put forth another addreſs, proclaiming himſelf King: he ſet a price on James's head, declared the Parliament a factious aſſembly,* wrote a letter to the Duke of Albemarle (who commanded the militia againſt him) *ſigned as King*, ordering him to lay down his arms on pain of ſuffering as a traitor. He even went ſo far as to exerciſe the ancient prerogative to "*touch for the evil.*"

This aſſumption of royalty completed his ruin. It was contrary to his ſolemn engagement with Argyle and his aſſociates,† gave offence to the moſt zealous of his friends, to the old Republicans, and to the

* Kennet, p. 431.

† Sir Patrick Hume's Narration, p. 15.

Whig party who were pledged to the ſucceſſion of the Princeſs of Orange; and it opened the eyes of all reflecting men to the calamities that muſt attend a diſputed ſucceſſion.* The nation was not yet ſufficiently conſcious of James's plans againſt their liberties and religion to unite in driving him from the throne, and leaſt of all for one whoſe claim was manifeſtly groundleſs. The iron yoke of Cromwell's rebellion and tyranny were yet too freſh in their memories: they foreſaw that "an inundation of phantaſies, and men of impious principles, muſt needs cauſe univerſal diſorder, cruelty, injuſtice, rapine, ſacrilege, and confuſion, an univerſal civil war, and miſery without end."†

Not to dwell on all the falſe ſteps of himſelf and his officers, — his own irreſolute movements, and their treachery and cowardice, it is enough to ſay that on the 6th of July, within a few weeks of his landing, he was entirely defeated at Sedgemoor by the King's troops under the command of Lord Feverſham. His undiſciplined forces, though ſuperior in numbers, could not withſtand the ſhock of the royal army: they fled in diſorder; 1300 were killed in the action and purſuit; the priſoners, who were not many leſs, were treated with a ſavage cruelty that ſtamps indelible diſgrace on the commanders, and on James, whoſe orders they

* "Whether his own ſingle ffollie, or the councill of thoſe that were ſuppoſed to betray him added to it, was the cauſe of his proclaiming himſelf King, was doubtful. But this was certain, that ſeverall thouſands quitted him within three days after." Lord Lonſdale's *Memoir of the Reign of James II.* written at the time, and publiſhed in 1808, 4to.

† Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 605.

afterwards pleaded, and with too much truth, in extenuation of their barbarities.

We have at Sedgemoor the unwonted ſpectacle of a prelate of the Church perſonally engaged in the thickeſt of the fight. The warlike Dr. Mews, Biſhop of Wincheſter, had fought in the army of Charles I. in 1642, and afterwards in Scotland for his ſon Charles II. He had alſo ſerved under the Duke of York in Flanders, and now, laying aſide his lawn, he once more took arms for his royal maſter in the battle of Sedgemoor, where "he was active in the ſoldiery way."* Seeing that the guns were all levelled in the ſame direction, and that their force might be eluded by an opening of the oppoſite ranks, he employed his coach-horſes in drawing them to another ſpot, and "planted them to fire ſaltire-wiſe, that their ſhot might reach from front to flank." The King preſented him with a rich medal in acknowledgment of his ſervice.† After the battle this courageous prelate ſhowed the true ſpirit of a Chriſtian ſoldier in compaſſion for thoſe whom he had helped to defeat. The Earl of Feverſham was marching off the priſoners tied together like ſlaves, and making a halt at the firſt great ſign poſt that ſtood acroſs the road, he commanded four or five of them to be hanged upon it, and would have gone on in that arbitrary way, if the Biſhop had not come up, and expoſtulated with him, calling out, "My Lord, this is murder in law. Theſe poor wretches, now the

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* Salmon's Lives of the Engliſh Biſhops, p. 249.

† Fox's Hiſtory of the Reign of James II., p. 264. Burnet's Hiſtory of his Own Times.

battle is over, must be tried before they are put to death."*

With no less compassion Bishop Ken pleaded their cause with the King. He had hastened to his diocese as soon as the Parliament broke up: his tender nature sympathized with these unhappy victims, now subjected to the unrelenting vengeance of Feversham, and the ferocious Kirke,—that ruthless tyrant, whom he had reproved at Tangier for his licentiousness. Everywhere revolting spectacles of slaughter presented themselves: the mangled bodies of the prisoners were exposed by the way side, and the roads were hardly passable. He did not stop to consider if the King would resent his interference; but fearless in his mission of mercy he wrote to remonstrate against the cruelty of his officers.† Not content with this, he engaged with all his wonted zeal in alleviating the misery of the survivors. Some hundreds of the rebels being imprisoned in Wells, he daily relieved them in prison, and prayed with them. ‡

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* Sir James Mackintosh ascribes this humane interference to Bishop Ken: Mr. Macaulay doubts if the story can be applicable to him: Mr. Markland, in his excellent Life of Ken, agrees with Sir James, and forcibly vindicates his opinion. Who can decide between such high authorities? I humbly think it was Mews, whom Kennett erroneously calls the Bishop of Bath, though he had been lately translated to Winchester. See Kennett's Hist. vol. iii. p. 432.

† "Besides those that were killed in the ffield there were about seven hundred sentenced to death, and executed, insomuch that all the high ways of that countrie were no longer to be travailed, whilst the horrour of so many quarters of men, and the offensive stench of them lasted, of which Dr. Ken, the Bishop of that Diocese, writ a most pathetical letter to his Majestie." Lord Lonsdale's Memoirs, p. 12.

‡ Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 16.

Hiſtorians are divided in opinion as to Monmouth's behaviour in the action. Mr. Fox ſays "he fled while his troops were ſtill fighting, and therefore too ſoon for his glory."* After wandering up and down for two days, driven to the greateſt ſtraits even for food, he was diſcovered lying in a ditch, in the diſguiſe of a ſhepherd, covered with ferns and brakes. On being ſearched his George was found upon him, which with the welcome news was conveyed by an expreſs to the King. Out of his pocket were taken books in his own hand writing, containing charms, and ſpells, and conjurations to open the doors of a priſon, and to prevent the danger of being wounded in battle, together with ſongs and prayers.†

We might expect that one who had aſpired to a crown would ſhow himſelf worthy of the blood of the Stuarts; that having ſtaked his life on a caſt, he would bravely "ſtand the hazard of the die." But no ſooner was he in the power of his enemy than he betrayed a weak ſpirit: he burſt into unmanly tears. To the King, whom he had before branded as a cruel uſurper, murderer, and fratricide, he wrote a letter even more abject than he had penned to his father on his former rebellion. He expreſſes no remorſe for the ſlaughter of his admiring adherents, whom he had reduced from

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* Fox's Hiſtory of the Reign of James II. p. 264.

"Herein the Duke of Monmouth loſt much of his reputation for courage, ffor inſtead of dieing in the ffield as was expected, he left his men fighting, and endeavoured to eſcape in company with my Lord Gray." Lord Lonſdale's Memoirs, p. 11.

† An Account of the manner of taking the late Duke of Monmouth," &c. 1685.

their allegiance,—he makes no appeal on behalf of the unhappy prisoners,—no cry for the royal clemency towards the thronging crowds who had decked his path with flowers, shouting "a Monmouth, a Monmouth," and now reserved for execution. He is wholly occupied in selfish fears for himself: as before, so now, he lays the whole blame on others, who by false arguments had prompted him to the rash enterprize;—"*horrid people whom it was my misfortune to meet with.* But Sir, I will not trouble your Majesty at present with many things I could say for myself, that I am sure would move your compassion, the chief end of this letter being only to beg of you that I may have that happiness to speak to your Majesty; for I have that to say to you, Sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy reign. I am sure, Sir, when you hear me you will be convinced of the zeal I have for your preservation, and how heartily I repent of what I have done. Therefore, Sir, I shall make an end by begging your Majesty to believe so well of me, that I would rather die a thousand deaths than excuse anything I have done; if I really did not think myself the most in the wrong that ever any man was, and had not from the bottom of my heart *an abhorrence of those who put me upon it*, and for the action itself. I hope God Almighty will strike your heart with mercy and compassion for me, as He has done mine with abhorrence of what I have done."*

Such is the man who has been described by party

* Fox's History of the Reign of James II., p. 266. Echard, p. 771.

writers as the "ill fated, illuſtrious, generous, brave, patriotic Monmouth." Mr. Fox in his account of the ſad ſpectacle of his death, ſays that "his qualities go a great way in making up the catalogue of all that is amiable and eſtimable in human nature!"* ſurely a ſtrange perverſion of judgment in a writer, himſelf ſometimes lauded as an example of the amenities of ſocial life.

The King granted Monmouth the interview he deſired: it was but to triumph over his misfortunes, and aſcertain whether he had really any ſecrets to diſcloſe. Monmouth, proſtrate at his feet, acknowledged his guilt, admitted that the late King had told him he was never married to his mother, and pleaded pathetically for his life, which he would be ever willing to ſacrifice in his ſervice. He even expreſſed his readineſs to change his religion, reminding the king that he had originally been educated in the Roman faith.† "Remember, Sir," (he added) "I am your brother's ſon, and if you take my life, it is your own blood you will ſhed." With any other than an inexorable tyrant this laſt appeal would have prevailed. Charles had almoſt endangered his crown by a reſolute adherence to James's right of ſucceſſion againſt the ſenſe of the nation, and the declared voice of the Commons. To ſacrifice that brother's beloved ſon, faulty as he was, betrayed a cold hearted inſenſibility to the claims of gratitude, and the ties of nature. James ſtood unmoved over the doomed victim, kneeling before him, and bathed

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* Fox's Hiſtory of James II., p. 287.

† Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

in tears. The triumph of his revenge could only be completed on the scaffold. At length Monmouth, "when he saw he could gain nothing by further submissions, rose from his feet with a new air of bravery, and was carried back to the Tower." *

One day only was granted him to prepare for death. Still clinging to hope, he occupied the time in abject supplications for mercy. He wrote again and again to the king, and sent for some of the most influential persons about the court, whose interference he thought might gain him a respite, if not pardon. All was in vain. When the humblest of his adherents in this lately crushed rebellion, even women and children, were not spared, what hope could there be for Monmouth, the long hated rival, and competitor for the crown, the leader of enemies who, even in the former reign, had well nigh changed the order of succession?

James, though he had disregarded Ken's pathetic appeals for mercy towards the prisoners in the west, felt no resentment at his benevolent exertions for their relief, "nor so much as harboured any jealous thought of him." † He sent for him to attend Monmouth in his last hours. He rightly judged that his visits to the Somersetshire prisons were prompted only by a sense "of duty to his distressed brethren, to save them from perishing both in body and soul."‡ Turner, Bishop of Ely, Dr. Tennison, and Dr. Hooper, were joined with him to officiate for Monmouth. Of all persons living we might least expect to find the gentle and tender-

* Kennett, vol. iii. p. 432.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 17. ‡ Ibid.

hearted Ken, an actor in the tragical ſcene that was preparing. The duty however being laid upon him, he performed it with his accuſtomed faithfulneſs: he remained with Monmouth in the Tower during the night of the 15th of July endeavouring to prepare him for eternity. He found him fearfully inſenſible to his ſins of rebellion and adultery;—confident indeed of eternal happineſs, but not on the ſaving condition of a true repentance. It is neceſſary to ſtate this plainly; for he has been cenſured by Fox and others for unfeeling ſeverity towards Monmouth, in his endeavours to awaken him to a contrite view of his paſt life. So difficult is it to ſatisfy prejudiced minds. Mr. Fox in particular is ſo great an admirer of the character of Monmouth, that he cannot bear any imputation againſt him. On the other hand he miſjudges, and therefore miſcolours, the acts and motives of the Divines, who were reluctantly compelled to ſpeak home truths to the ſufferer. The document from which Fox draws all his concluſions furniſhes their beſt refutation. It is to be found in the firſt volume of the Somers' Tracts, entitled, An Account of what paſſed at the execution of the late Duke of Monmouth, publiſhed by authority, and ſigned by Biſhop Ken, Biſhop Turner, Dr. Tenniſon, Dr. Hooper, and the Sheriffs, who declare it to be "a true account." We need only compare Mr. Fox's commentary with the text to ſhow the inaccuracy, and ſtrained conſtructions, which run through this part of his Hiſtory of James II. and as it brings a grave charge againſt our good Biſhop, the reader will here expect to find his vindication, if ſuch can be made.

Fox ſtates that as Monmouth proceeded to the ſcaffold the two Biſhops were with him in the carriage of the Lieutenant of the Tower; "and one of them took that opportunity of telling him that their controverſial altercations were not yet at an end; and that upon the ſcaffold he would again be preſſed for more explicit declarations of repentance."* It would have been a more accurate verſion, and have given a truer colour to what follows, if he had ſtated, from the Account, that "*the Duke himſelf entreated them to accompany him to the place of execution, and to continue with him to the laſt,*"† becauſe it would have ſhown that, ſo far from their having ſaid or done anything harſh or diſpleaſing, he had received ſympathy and comfort, if not derived conviction, from their previous attendance upon him in the Tower. In fact the "controverſial altercations" were a mere inference of the writer's own mind: for "the Biſhops made ſeaſonable and devout applications to him all the way; and one of them deſired him not to be ſurprized if they to the very laſt upon the ſcaffold renewed thoſe exhortations to a particular repentance, which they had ſo often repeated before."‡

"Certain it is," Mr. Fox ſays, "that none of theſe holy men ſeem to have erred on the ſide of compaſſion, or complaiſance to their illuſtrious penitent."§ Surely the moſt Chriſtian, and to Monmouth the only effec-

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* Fox's Hiſtory of James II., p. 281.

† "Account of what paſſed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth." 1685. ‡ Ibid.

§ Fox's Hiſtory of James II., p. 280.

tual, compaſſion they could exerciſe towards him would be a zealous regard for his eternal welfare. This they emphatically ſhowed in their "many pious ejaculations, and their earneſt prayers,"* &c. As to complaiſance, it is rather the prieſt's office, under ſuch circumſtances, by a cloſe ſearching of the heart to awaken it to the voice of truth, that ſpeaks of righteouſneſs and judgment to come. Such a faithful candour was eſpecially demanded towards this "illuſtrious penitent," who was no penitent in any ſenſe, until brought to ſomething like a feeling of his ſins by their continued, earneſt, and affectionate appeals. For we find that he began, on mounting the ſcaffold, as if he was about to make a premeditated ſpeech in this manner: "I have had a ſcandal raiſed upon me about a woman, a lady of virtue and honour; I will name her, the Lady Henrietta Wentworth: I declare ſhe is a very virtuous and godly woman; I have committed no ſin with her; and that which hath paſſed betwixt us was very honeſt and innocent in the ſight of God. I can bleſs God, that He has given me ſo much grace, that for theſe two years laſt paſt" (during which he had abandoned his Ducheſs, and their children for this guilty love)—"I have led a life unlike to my former courſe" (one of notorious and varied profligacy) "and have been happy."† Would not the Divines, who were attending him for the expreſs purpoſe of rouſing his conſcience, have betrayed their truſt, if they had not ſpoken plainly on ſuch a ſtrange perverſion?

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* "Account of what paſſed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth." 1685. † Ibid.

But to pass from his private life to his public acts; Mr. Fox dwells more particularly on the Divines "teazing him with controversy, and being far more solicitous to make him profess what they deemed the true creed of the Church of England (the doctrine of Non-resistance) than to soften and console his sorrows, or to help him to that composure of mind so necessary for his situation."* Yet he himself shows that the prisoner stood in no need of help to such composure; he lauds his equanimity and courage on the scaffold: and in the published "Account" we have Monmouth's repeated declarations, "I die with great cheerfulness, for I know I shall go to God; I have no fear, as you may see by my face; I am sure I shall go to God." So far from feeling alarm at his approaching fate, he was an example of its very opposite,—that worse indifference, against which their efforts were directed. He was insensible to all the considerations that would have crowded in upon the mind of a true penitent: he boasted of his own confidence, "God be praised, I have encouragement enough in myself:" "I die with all the joyfulness in the world."

He was untouched by any sense of the consequences of his rebellion. Not even those two thousand victims of his ambition,—his deluded, slaughtered followers,—those "wretched fugitives," as Fox describes them, "who were massacred in ditches, corn fields, and other hiding places,"† moved either his pity for their sufferings, or remorse for having occasioned them. "God be praised," he again said, "I die with a clear con-

* Fox's History of James II., p. 280. † Ibid. p. 269.

ſcience; *I have wronged no man!*" "How Sir," was the anſwer, "no man? have you not been guilty of invaſion, and of much blood which has been ſhed? it may be the loſs of many precious ſouls who followed you? you muſt needs have wronged a great many." Theſe words ſtruck him with feelings of compunction. "I am ſorry for invading the kingdom; for the blood that has been ſhed; and for the ſouls which may have been loſt by my means; I am ſorry it ever happened: this he ſpoke ſoftly."* After that they obtained an acknowledgment from him of "repentance for all his ſins, known and unknown, confeſſed or not confeſſed." This was all they deſired, — a heartfelt expreſſion of repentance: they rejoiced in the opportunity, and at once pronounced, "God Almighty of His infinite mercy forgive you." No further queſtion was put to him: "then all went to ſolemn commendatory prayers, which continued for a good ſpace; the Duke of Monmouth and the company kneeling, and joining in them with great fervency." "During the preparations for his beheading many pious ejaculations were uſed by thoſe that aſſiſted him, with great fervency: ex. gr. 'God accept your repentance. God accept your imperfect repentance: my lord, God accept your general repentance. God Almighty ſhow his omnipotent mercy upon you. Father, into thy hands we commend his ſpirit. Lord Jeſus receive his ſoul.' Then the executioner proceeded to do his office."†

Surely the preſence of theſe holy men could not be

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* "Account of what paſſed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth." 1650. † Ibid.

conſidered altogether needleſs. If a ſenſe of paſt ſin be of any avail, Mr. Fox ſhould applaud, rather than cenſure, a zeal that at length produced in Monmouth's mind the contrition to which he was at firſt a ſtranger. Did he think the ſufferer's adherence, in the hour of death, to the principles of rebellion, which he had ſo long acted upon againſt every known law, human and divine, more praiſeworthy than a humble and contrite ſpirit before God? or his natural courage and compoſure of mind more availing than a penitent confeſſion?

We have no deſire to juſtify Ken at the expenſe of his friends, the Biſhop of Ely, Dr. Teniſon, and Dr. Hooper, companions with him in this charitable work. We have reaſoned as if he were equally reſponſible with the reſt for all that is contained in the publiſhed "Account," and which carries with it their full juſtification. But even if Mr. Fox's general charge againſt the Divines were well grounded, we might claim for Ken a particular exemption. His biographer ſays, "becauſe I have lately ſeen ſome reflections in a pamphlet, lately crept into the world, under the ſuſpicious title of a 'Secret Hiſtory,' wherein Dr. Ken is by name mentioned to teaze the Duke of Monmouth in vain on the ſcaffold to profeſs the doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, I think it proper boldly to affirm that our Biſhop never acted or aſſiſted there, but in the devotional part only. And this, tho' a negative, may be prov'd to ſatisfaction."* Hawkins muſt have derived this authoritative denial from the Biſhop himſelf, who

* Hawkins's Life of Biſhop Ken, p. 38.

was his uncle; and it receives confirmation from a paſſage in one of Ken's own letters, written to Burnet ſome years after: "Paſſive Obedience," he there ſays, "is a ſubject with which I very rarely meddled."*

It muſt have been a great ſhock to his compaſſionate nature to be a compelled witneſs to the ſcene of unuſual horror that followed,—to ſtand within a few paces of the unhappy nobleman, whoſe ſufferings, owing to the executioner's unſkilfulneſs and want of nerve, were protracted in a manner too painful to detail. The tragical ſight, the handſome perſon, the youth and graceful manners, the brave bearing in his laſt moments, of this moſt dear ſon of the late King, whoſe memory yet lived in their hearts, excited the univerſal compaſſion of the people. The immenſe multitude that crowded to the very tops of the ſurrounding houſes bemoaned his fate with tears: poſterity ſtill ſympathizes with the ſufferer in ſpite of his faults, which we have been compelled to remember only in defence of four Engliſh Prelates,† unjuſtly charged with a want of Chriſtian tenderneſs.

No ſooner was this ſad ſpectacle over, than Ken haſtened back to his dioceſe, where equally mournful ſcenes awaited him. The ferocious inſtruments of the King's revenge were let looſe like hungry wolves upon his defenceleſs flock. James had reſolved to ſtrike

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* Hawkins's Life of Biſhop Ken, p. 33.

† Dr. Teniſon was afterwards made Archbiſhop of Canterbury by William III., and Dr. Hooper Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and then of Bath, by Queen Ann.

terror into the minds of the people by a ſevere example of vengeance. Neither rank, age nor ſex was ſpared: it may be ſaid that no page of our hiſtory preſents ſuch an amount of indiſcriminate ſlaughter as the "Bloody Aſſizes" of the Weſt of England. Chief Juſtice Jefferies was ſent down with a ſpecial commiſſion to try the rebels. Major General Kirke was ordered to attend with a body of troops to keep the people in awe. "It was not poſſible to find in the whole kingdom two men more devoid of religion, honour, and humanity: they were two cruel mercileſs tigers, that delighted in blood."* Hume deſcribes Jefferies as "a wanton in cruelty; he ſet out with a ſavage joy, as to a full harveſt of death and deſtruction." The victims found no mercy at his hands: he afterwards boaſted that he had hanged more men than all the Judges of England ſince William the Conqueror. He had his reward: the King made him Lord Chancellor;—his death bed in the Tower was one of horror and deſpair. "Kirke was a ſoldier of fortune, who had long ſerved in Tangier, and had contracted, from his intercourſe with the Moors, an inhumanity leſs known in European and in free countries. At his firſt entrance into Bridgewater he hanged nineteen priſoners without the leaſt enquiry into the merits of their cauſe. As if to make ſport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company ſhould drink the King's health, or the Queen's, or Judge Jefferies's. Obſerving their feet to quiver in

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 750.

the agonies of death, he cried that he would give them muſic to their dancing, and he immediately commanded the drums to beat, and the trumpets to ſound." *

At Bridgewater, Taunton and Wells, the jails were crowded with the unhappy priſoners. True, they had been engaged in open rebellion; but they were afflicted, hungry, plundered, and under the terrors of death. Theſe were unanſwerable claims to the ſympathy of Biſhop Ken. He went from priſon to priſon, miniſtering to their wants, and exerciſing all the offices of mercy. Ten years afterwards, when he was a deprived Biſhop, being ſummoned by King William's Privy Council to anſwer to a charge of promoting ſubſcriptions for the relief of the non-juring clergy, he modeſtly pleads that what he did on behalf of the priſoners in Monmouth's rebellion then gave no offence to the court. "My Lords," he ſays, "in King James's time there were about a thouſand or more impriſoned in my Dioceſe, who were engaged in the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, and many of them were ſuch which I had reaſon to believe to be ill men, and void of all religion: and yet, for all that, I thought it my duty to relieve them. It is well known to the Dioceſe that I viſited them night and day, and I thank God I ſupplied them with neceſſaries myſelf, as far as I could, and encouraged others to do the ſame." †

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* Hume's Hiſtory of England.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 52.

CHAPTER XV.

Ken's "Exposition of the Church Catechism"—"Directions for Prayer"—"Prayers for the use of persons who come to the Baths"—Persecution of the French Huguenots—Ken's charitable disposition—His zeal in the Pastoral office.

IT is time to lead Bishop Ken from these scenes of misery to more congenial duties. To be the peaceful guide, the teacher, the counsellor, the comforter, the friend, the censor, when need was, of his widely scattered flock, were the offices that would best recreate his tried spirit. In these he exemplified the compassionate zeal of a primitive Bishop to promote the welfare of his people. His whole thoughts seem to have been engaged in prompting them to Christian holiness, especially by his example of meekness, charity, self denial, and prayer. He lived amongst his clergy, knowing that such a responsible work, to be effectual, must be uniform and abiding. "It was frequently said, by many of eminence, who knew him well, that they never knew any person so able, and earnest to do good in such a station as he was." *

Among the first objects at which his exertions aimed was the education of the young. In this he had already shown his zeal by the publication of his

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 12.

"Manual of Prayer," for the uſe of the Wincheſter ſcholars: but it is not generally known that he was one of the earlieſt and moſt ſucceſsful promoters of the ſyſtem of Pariſh Schools,—now again, within the laſt thirty years, happily revived in England. "He found ſo much deplorable ignorance among the grown poor people, that he feared little good was to be done upon them: but ſaid he would try whether he could not lay a foundation to make the next generation better. And this put him upon ſetting up many ſchools in all the great towns of his Dioceſe, for poor children to be taught to read, and ſay their Catechiſm. By this method and management he engaged the miniſters to be more careful in catechizing the children of their pariſhes; and they were by him furniſhed with a ſtock of neceſſary books for the uſe of children. And we may now judge by the great and good ſucceſs of the Charity-ſchools, which are now ſo numerous, what great and good ends he at that time propoſed."*

Thus with the ſyſtem of Pariſh ſchools he connects the practice of catechizing: and not only did he enforce this in ſchools, but in Church alſo, as a duty expreſsly ordered in the Rubric,—a duty, in this our day of neglected ordinances, well-nigh obſolete. "The Church," he ſays, "has enjoined all fathers and mothers, maſters and dames, to cauſe their children, ſervants, and apprentices, to come to the Church at the time appointed, and obediently to hear, and be ordered by the Curate, until ſuch time as they have learned all that is appointed in the Catechiſm to be learned."†

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* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 13.

† Preface to the "Practice of Divine Love."

It is difficult to account for the prevalent neglect of that express order of our Church, "the Curate of every Parish shall diligently upon Sundays and Holy-days, after the second lesson at Evening Prayer, openly in the Church instruct, and examine the children in some part of this Catechism." It cannot be that our Clergy need examples in their predecessors for enforcing this wholesome order: they have Bishops Andrews, Wilson, Sancroft, and Wake, and many other pious and learned Prelates. Wherever the practice has been restored, it is found to excite a lively interest, not in the minds of the children and parents only but, in the congregation generally. It conveys to them a more simple exposition of Scripture, and a clearer view of doctrine than they gain from sermons: for, says George Herbert in his Country Parson, "there is in sermons a kind of state; in catechizing there is a humbleness very suitable to Christian regeneration. It is an admirable way of teaching, wherein the catechized will at length find delight, and by which the catechizer, if he once get the skill of it, will draw out of silly souls even the dark and deep points of religion." *

That he might more effectually help forward this great duty, the Bishop at once put forth the work already alluded to, "An Exposition on the CHURCH CATECHISM, or the Practice of Divine Love, composed for the Diocese of Bath and Wells." We are able to fix the precise date of its publication: the *Imprimatur* was granted at Lambeth, August 9, 1685, — being

* *The Parson's Catechizing.*

leſs than a month after his attendance on the ſcaffold with Monmouth, and in the firſt year of his Epiſcopate. Nothing can be more affectionate and perſuaſive than his exhortation to his people to ſecure the means of chriſtian inſtruction to themſelves, and their children, through the catechiſm. He dedicates it by "An Epiſtle to the Inhabitants within the Dioceſe of Bath and Wells," whom he addreſſes as his "Dearly Beloved in the Lord," calling himſelf "Thomas, your unworthy Biſhop," and "wiſheth them the Knowledge and Love of God."

"Since the Providence of God," he ſays, "who is wont to glorifie His ſtrength in the weakneſs of the inſtruments He uſes, has caught me up from among the meaneſt herdmen* into the paſtoral throne, and has been pleaſed to commit you to my care, the love I ought to pay to the Chief Shepherd obliges me to feed all his lambs and his ſheep, that belong to my flock, and according to my poor abilities, to teach them the knowledge and the love of God, and how they may make them both their daily ſtudy and practice. One thing I moſt earneſtly beg of you all, whether old or young, that ye would help me to ſave your own ſouls; that ye would learn and ſeriouſly conſider, again and again, the terms on which your ſalvation is to be had. As for you who have families, I beſeech you to inſtil into your children and ſervants their duty, both by your teaching and your example: in good earneſt it is leſs cruel and unnatural to deny them bread for their mortal bodies, than ſaving know-

* Amos i. 1.

ledge for their immortal ſouls. Ye that are fathers, or maſters, I exhort you to tread in the ſteps of Abraham, the father of the faithfull, and the friend of God, and like him to command your children and houſeholds to keep the way of the Lord. Ye that are mothers, or miſtreſſes, I exhort you to imitate that unfeigned faith, which dwelt in young Timothy's grandmother Lois, and his mother Eunice, who taught him from a child to know the Holy Scriptures, which were able to make him wiſe to ſalvation; and like them to bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. God of his infinite mercy bleſs the whole to his glory, and to your edification, through Jeſus the beloved. Amen. Amen."

Independent of its merits as an expoſition of Catholic doctrines, this treatiſe abounds with paſſages of eminent force and beauty. They are ſo many ſolemn avowals of his attachment to the Anglican Church, for which he afterwards ſuffered impriſonment under one king, and deprival by another. They ſtamp him, as he has ever been conſidered, one of the moſt orthodox and holy Prelates of any age. They ſhow his familiar acquaintance with Scripture, his fervent piety, and the exactneſs of his judgment, by which he weighed every doctrine in the balance of the divine word. Theſe may well conſtitute him a ſafe guide, and as it were a laſt appeal, on queſtions of doctrine to all ſincere members of our Church, who bring to the ſtudy of truth an unbiaſſed and teachable mind. As a book of prayer, it is even yet more admirable. He ſeems to pour forth a continuous ſtream of adoration and penitent love, calculated to exalt all hearts to

a foretaſte of the unclouded joys to come. His whole life was an example of a devout ſpirit, which may be ſaid to have been a leading feature of his character. We have already ſeen that nothing was permitted to interrupt "his cloſet addreſſes to his God," his recreation, and his ſtudies, and the active work of his Dioceſe, being all made ſubſervient to this higheſt duty and privilege, and how he accuſtomed himſelf to but one ſleep, and roſe often at one or two o'clock in the morning, and ſometimes ſooner, to join the angels in their work of praiſe.*

It was in this ſpirit that he directed the Wincheſter ſcholars, "as ſoon as they awoke in the morning, to offer the firſt fruits of the day to God." "When you are ready, look on your ſoul as ſtill undreſt, till you have ſaid your prayers. Remember that God under the Law ordained a lamb to be offered up to Him every morning and evening. A lamb! that is a fit emblem of youth and innocence; think then that you are to reſemble this lamb, and be ſure every day to offer up yourſelf a morning and an evening ſacrifice to God."

And as if this were a ſubject which could never be

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* "Wake, and lift up thyſelf, my Heart,
And with the Angels bear thy part,
Who all night long unwearied ſing,
Glory to the Eternal King.

I wake, I wake, ye Heavenly Choire;
May your devotions me inſpire,
That I like you my age may ſpend,
Like you may on my God attend."

KEN's Morning Hymn.

exhausted, he now again in this first year of his Episcopate, composed for the special use of the "Poor Inhabitants within the Diocese of Bath and Wells," a further treatise or manual, being "DIRECTIONS FOR PRAYER." "Sure I am," he says to them, "the zeal I ought to have for your salvation can suggest to me nothing more conducing to the good of your souls than to exhort and beseech you all, of either sex, to learn how to pray. I do not only incessantly pray for you myself, but I beg of you all to pray for yourselves, and I beseech you to read the following instructions; or if you cannot read yourselves, get some honest charitable neighbour to read them often to you; and God of His great mercy reward the charity of such neighbours. I must feed you with milk, before you can be capable of strong meat; and I must look upon you as lambs of my flock, which I am to use tenderly. And these following directions, which I give to parents for the training up of their children in piety, I do equally design for the training up of you. God of His infinite goodness bless them to you both. I exhort all you who are parents to instill good things into your children, as soon as ever they begin to speak: let the first words they utter, if it be possible, be these, '*Glory be to God.*' Accustom them to repeat these words on their knees, as soon as they rise, and when they go to bed, and oft-times in the day; and let them not eat or drink without saying, '*Glory be to God.*' The same method you observe in teaching your children, the same you may observe in teaching your servants, according as you see they want teaching: and you yourselves will reap the benefit of it, as well as your ser-

vants; for the more devout ſervants they are of God, the more faithful ſervants will they be to you."

Then he gives them "A Method of Daily Prayer," being appropriate forms for all occaſions. "As ſoon as ever you awake, offer up your firſt thoughts and words to God." "As you are riſing ſay" &c. "As ſoon as you are dreſſed, kneel down, as our Saviour kneeled at His prayers, and remember you are in God's preſence, and ſay your prayers with reverence and devotion." "After the like manner you may pray at night." "As you are going to bed ſay" &c. "As you began the day, ſo end it with glorifying God; and when you are in bed ſay" &c. Then he gives ejaculations "at going out or coming in, at meals, at work, in the ſhop or market, in temptation or danger, at any time of the day." "You that have families I do further exhort that, beſides your private prayers, you would offer up to God a morning and evening ſacrifice in your families, and that every one of you would take up the holy reſolution of Joſhua, 'as for me and my houſe, we will ſerve the Lord.' And the prayers I adviſe you to uſe are taken out of the Common Prayer, as being moſt familiar and of greateſt authority withal.* God of His infinite mercy bleſs theſe inſtructions to His Glory, and to the furtherance of your devotion, through Jeſus the the Beloved. Amen. Amen."

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* This was alſo George Herbert's opinion: for when Mr. Duncan came to viſit him in his laſt ſickneſs, at the inſtance of his friend Nicholas Farrer, after ſome diſcourſe of Mr. Farrer's holy life, and the manner of his conſtant ſerving God, "he ſaid to Mr. Duncan, 'Sir, I ſee by your habit that you are a prieſt, and I deſire you to pray with me:' which being granted, Mr. Duncan aſked him 'what prayers?'

He considered his work still incomplete, so long as any within range of his influence, for however short a time, could be found unprovided with prayers, suited to their peculiar case. Seeing therefore that many of the rich, as well as poor, suffering under various diseases, came to the Bath waters for the recovery of their health, he put forth another Manual, being "PRAYERS for the use of all persons who come to the Baths for cure."† He would make these medicinal waters, refreshing springs of spiritual consolation—"wells of water springing up unto everlasting life."

Such were the Bishop's unwearied endeavours to make men prayerful. He seemed to fear nothing so much as to lose irrevocable opportunities of doing good. Yet he was again, more than once in the course of this year, called away for very short periods. Parliament had been prorogued on the 2nd of July, in consequence of Monmouth's rebellion, the King judging it needful that the members should repair to their respective counties. They were appointed to meet again on the 4th of August, when the Bishop was present in the House of Lords, but only for one day, as a further adjournment immediately took place to the 4th of November. We find by the Journals that he and Sancroft again attended from the 11th to the 17th of November. On the 20th the King, finding that the Houses were much

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To which Mr. Herbert's answer was, 'O, Sir, the prayers of my mother, the Church of England: no other prayers are equal to them. But at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint."—Walton's Life of George Herbert.

* See Markland's Edition of these Prayers; prefixed to his interesting Life of Ken. 1849. 12mo.

diſſatisfied with his employing Roman Catholic officers in the army, contrary to law, again adjourned them to the 10th of February: but he never permitted them to meet afterwards. His reſolution to govern without Parliament led to his downfall. Ken returned once more to his Dioceſe, and to renewed energies in the great work of the Paſtoral cure. His tenderneſs and condeſcenſion conciliated all ranks: he ſpared no labour or perſuaſion to eſtabliſh a unity of affection between the clergy and their people. No miniſterial office was beneath his care. Not only in his Cathedral city did he ordain, confirm, and catechiſe; but in the ſummer time he went about to the large Pariſh Churches, where he would preach twice, and catechize the children.* Theſe labours made him venerable in the eyes of all men. He had no time to court the ſociety of the great, being intent on the exact fulfilment of his duties, in which he always ſtill thought himſelf defective. His own ſelf-denial, and ſtrictneſs of life, added force to all his exertions for the reſtoration of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, of which he gave a faithful account to his Metropolitan, Archbiſhop Sancroft.†

He was the common father of his people: but the poor in Wells (who were very numerous) were the eſpecial objects of his Chriſtian ſympathy. "He was very earneſt in contriving proper expedients of relief for the needy; and thought no deſign could better anſwer all the ends of charity than the ſetting up a workhouſe in that place. But judging it not practicable without the advice, or at leaſt the aſſiſtance of the Gentlemen, he

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 14. † Proſe Works of Ken, by Round.

therefore often met and consulted with them. In this he had a double view; to rescue the idle from vicious practice and conversation, and the industrious from the oppression of the tradesmen, who, to use his own expression, did grind the face of the poor, growing rich by their labour, and making them a very scanty allowance for their work."* But he was disappointed in his charitable wishes: he "found no suitable encouragement, and was forced to desist" from his plan.

In the midst of these peaceful labours of the Bishop for the good of his own people, a voice of lamentation rose from a neighbouring country, so real and deep that it compelled the attention of all Europe. The Edict of Nantes had for nearly a century secured to the French Protestants a reluctant toleration. But it was reserved to France, in the accomplished and luxurious age of Louis XIV. to commit an act of insane cruelty, equalled only in her own avenging Revolution. Louis, confident in his ambitious projects for universal power, and prompted by a blind fanaticism to reduce all his subjects to his own creed, resolved to exterminate the Huguenots.† They were oppressed by a series of the most cruel military persecutions, known by the name of *dragonnades;* their towns desolated, themselves put to the most ingenious and protracted torture. Thousands of innocent victims were massacred without fear or remorse. Thus the King consummated a deed of treachery and ingratitude, of so dark a hue, that it indelibly stains his own character, and the history of France;—treacherous, be-

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 16.

† The Edict of Nantes was revoked 18th Oct. 1685.

cauſe it violated the pledge of a national compact, declared to be irrevocable,—and ungrateful towards a brave and loyal race, whom he had but lately thanked and applauded for their fidelity to his throne, when menaced by the war of the Fronde.

Ken's warm heart kindled at the ſpectacle of 50,000 victims of a ſtern intolerance, now refugees in England. Being appointed one of the Preachers at Whitehall in the following Lent, he took that occaſion * to preach "a moſt excellent and pathetical diſcourſe on the 6th of John, v. 17," in furtherance of ſubſcriptions for the oppreſſed exiles. "After he had recommended the duty of faſting, and other penitential duties, he exhorted to conſtancy in the Proteſtant Religion, deteſtation of the unheard-of cruelties of the French, and ſtirring up a liberal contribution. This ſermon was the more acceptable, as it was unexpected from a Biſhop, who had undergone the cenſure of being inclined to Popery, the contrary whereof no man could ſhow more." †

Amidſt the general commiſeration for the perſecuted Huguenots James and his counſellors felt ſomething more than indifference. If he did not, as ſome aſſert, congratulate the French tyrant on this "victory over hereſy," which was declared by writers of that Church to be "greater than all the conqueſts of Alexander and Cæſar," he took every means to ſuppreſs a knowledge of the facts. He even cauſed a tranſlation of Monſieur Claude's book, containing an account of the barbarous proceedings in France, to be burned at the Exchange by the common hangman;—at once an outrage on the

* 14th March, 1686. † Evelyn's Diary, Vol. i. p. 625.

generous sympathy of his people, and an evidence of his own resolute designs for the establishment of Popery. "So mighty a power and ascendant," says Evelyn, "had the French ambassador, who was doubtless in great indignation at the pious and truly generous charity of the nation, for the relief of those miserable sufferers, who came over for shelter."

James, however, thought it prudent to yield to the call of the nation, and issued his letters patent to the Bishops for a general collection on behalf of the exiles. Charitable Ken immediately caused an address to be circulated through his Diocese, exhorting the Clergy with all expedition, affectionately and earnestly to persuade their people to contribute to so good a work. He begins his address, as usual, ascribing "All Glory to God." "I beseech you for the love of God, to be yourselves exemplary liberal, according to your ability, remembering how blessed a thing it is to be brotherly kind to strangers, to Christian strangers, especially such as those whose distress is very great, and in all respects most worthy of our tendereſt commiseration, and how our most adorable Redeemer does interpret, and does proportionably reward, all the good we do to them, as done to Himself. God of His infinite mercy inspire this fraternal charity into your souls, and into the souls of all your Parish. THO. BATH AND WELLS.

"Wells, April 15th, 1686."

We might expect, when he invited his Clergy to set their parishioners a liberal example, he would himself be foremost in such a commission of charity. Accordingly we have a remarkable act of munificence recorded of

him at this juncture. As if to open a way for him in a work of love ſo near his heart, he opportunely "received a fine of four thouſand Pounds, and the greater part was given to the French Proteſtants! ſo little regard had he to future contingencies."*

Unmeaſured as was his bounty to a whole community of ſufferers, and earneſt as he was in advocating their cauſe, and collecting the ſubſcriptions, he ſtill found time to be gracious and charitable to the meaneſt individual. We are often ready enough by contributions of money, which occaſion us no ſenſible privation, to abſolve ourſelves from the harder duty of giving our time and perſonal care to thoſe who are in need. Ken never loſt the opportunity of diſcourſing kindly, and patiently, with the loweſt who approached him. "He had a very happy way of mixing his ſpiritual with his corporal alms. When any poor perſon begged of him, he would examine whether he could ſay the Lord's Prayer or Creed."† He had a very tender regard for every ſheep of his flock. "The ſhepherd," ſays St. Chryſoſtom, "leaving the ninety and nine, did not return till he had completed his number, by recovering that ſheep that was loſt. Tell me not it is only one: remember that it is a ſoul for which all things viſible

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* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 22.

† Ibid. p. 12.—In this, as in many other particulars, he reſembled George Herbert, who would allow no thanks to himſelf for the alms he beſtowed; but would have them ſay, "God be praiſed, God be glorified." "So doth he alſo, before giving, make them ſay their prayers firſt, or the Creed, and ten commandments; and as he finds them perfect, rewards them the more. For other givings are lay and ſecular; but this is to give like a prieſt."—*The Parſon's Charity.*

were made; for which laws were given, miracles wrought, and myſteries effected; for which God ſpared not his own Son. Think how great a price has been paid for this one ſheep, and bring him back to the fold." Charitable Dr. Hammond ſays "Oh what a glorious thing, how rich a prize for the expenſe of a man's whole life, were it to be the inſtrument of reſcuing one ſoul!"

The rich man's barn, it is ſaid, is the poor man's ſtorehouſe. So the Biſhop in his palace was the bountiful ſteward for diſtributing to every claſs a portion of his worldly means. He ſought out new ways of charity, knowing that the inequalities of life are ordained for the probation of faith, both in thoſe who have abundance, and thoſe who want. He gave largely, for he loved much: he diſcerned Chriſt's pierced Hand ever ready to receive the gift, diſpenſed to the leaſt of His poor ones,—"theſe My brethren, anhungered, athirſt, naked, ſtrangers;" and he heard the voice, "thou doeſt it unto Me." His benevolence flowed out of a condeſcending ſpirit, that made it an offering of ſpikenard, very precious to Him who giveth the grace to beſtow, and the reward. "When he was at home on ſundays, he would have twelve poor men or women, to dine with him in his hall: always endeavouring, whilſt he fed their bodies, to comfort their ſpirits by ſome chearful diſcourſe, generally mixt with ſome uſeful inſtruction. And when they had dined, the remainder was divided among them, to carry home to their families."*

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* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 14.—Such was George Herbert's courteſy. "The poor are welcome to his table; whom he ſometimes purpoſely takes home with him, ſetting them cloſe by him,

Happily this ancient hall in the Palace of Wells remains as it was; and there hangs a portrait of the good Bishop, with the benignant ſmile * that beamed from his countenance, when he ſat in "cheerful diſcourſe" with his aged gueſts. Thus literally did he fulfil his Maſter's injunction: "when thou makeſt a dinner, or a ſupper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinſmen, nor thy rich neighbours, leſt they alſo bid thee again, and a recompenſe be made thee. But when thou makeſt a feaſt call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind: and thou ſhalt be bleſſed; for they cannot recompenſe thee: for thou ſhalt be recompenſed at the reſurrection of the juſt."

About this time he was called upon for another Edition of his "Practice of Divine Love." As in the caſe of his Manual of Prayers, he had been miſrepreſented in "a Popiſh pamphlet" to hold the Roman doctrine of Invocation of Saints,—ſo now they claimed him as a believer in the dogma of Tranſubſtantiation. He thus refutes the charge in a preface to the Second Edition: "The author thinks himſelf obliged to declare that he does now, and always did, humbly ſubmit this Expoſition to the judgment of the Church of England, conformably to whoſe Articles he deſires all good Chriſtians to interpret it: and to prevent all miſunderſtandings for

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and carving for them, both for his own humility, and their comfort, who are much cheered with ſuch friendlineſſes. Having then invited ſome of his pariſh, he taketh his times to do the like to the reſt; ſo that, in the compaſs of the year, he hath them all with him."

* Granger, ſpeaking of the reſpect in which Ken was held in the court of Charles II. for his unaffected piety, ſays "the openneſs of his countenance correſponded with the ſimplicity of his character."

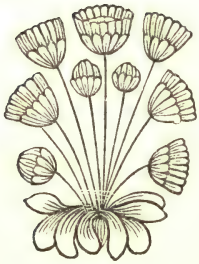
the future, he has in his revising it made some few little alterations, not at all varying his meaning, but his expressions, to render the whole as unexceptionable as becomes a book, not designed for dispute, but for devotion."

It will be seen by the altered passage in this Edition (published in 1686) that whilst he repudiates the Roman error of Transubstantiation, he conveys his deliberate and confirmed adherence to the Anglican (because Catholic) doctrine of the "Real Presence" in the Holy Eucharist.

1685.	1686.
O God Incarnate, how Thou canst "give us Thy Flesh to eat, and Thy Blood to drink;" how Thy Flesh is meat indeed, and Thy Blood is drink indeed; how he that eateth Thy Flesh and drinketh Thy Blood dwelleth in Thee, and Thou in him, how he shall live by Thee, and be raised up by Thee to life eternal; how Thou, who art in Heaven, art present on the Altar, I can by no means explain; but I firmly believe it all, because Thou hast said it, and I firmly rely on Thy Love, and on Thy Omnipotence, to make good Thy word, though the means of doing it I cannot comprehend."	O God Incarnate, how the bread and the wine, unchanged in their substance, become Thy Body and Thy Blood; after what extraordinary manner Thou, who art in Heaven, art present throughout the whole sacramental action to every devout receiver, how Thou canst give us Thy Flesh to eat, and Thy Blood to drink; how Thy Flesh is meat indeed, and Thy Blood is drink indeed; how he that eateth Thy Flesh, and drinketh Thy Blood, dwelleth in Thee, and Thou in him; how he shall live by Thee, and be raised up by Thee to life eternal, I can by no means comprehend; but I firmly believe all Thou hast said, and I firmly rely on Thy Omnipotent Love to make good Thy word; for which all love, all glory be to Thee."

No one who carefully reads his Exposition of the

Catechiſm can doubt his hearty concurrence in the purity and ſoundneſs of the Faith, taught in the Church of England. In that part which expounds the Creed, he ſays, "Glory be to Thee, O God, Who haſt made me a member of the particular Church of England, whoſe faith and government, and worſhip, are holy and Catholic, and Apoſtolic, and free from the extremes of irreverence and ſuperſtition; which I firmly believe to be a ſound part of the Church univerſal."



CHAPTER XVI.

Measures of James II. for establishing Romanism—Ken's Pastoral Letter to his Clergy—His Sermon at Whitehall, upholding the Church of England—His boldness, and eloquence as a Preacher—The King's Declaration of Indulgence.

PUBLIC jealousy and discontent began now to forebode a coming storm, which called the Bishop from the Palace at Wells to a more stirring sphere of action. Notwithstanding the King's open profession of Romanism, the people had been at first disposed to trust the promise of his coronation oath, that he would maintain the integrity of the Church of England. Nothing could be more explicit than that oath. The ceremony is thus described by Sandford.

Then the Petition or request of the Bishops to the King was read by the Bishop of Gloucester in a clear voice, in the name of the rest standing by.

Our Lord and King; we request you to pardon us and to grant and preserve unto us, and the churches committed to our charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice, and that you will protect and defend us, as every good King in his kingdom ought to be Protector, and Defender of the Bishops and Churches under their Government.

"The King answered, 'With a willing and devout heart I promise to grant you my pardon, and that I will preserve and maintain to you, and the churches

committed to your charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and juſtice: and that I will be your Protector and Defender, to my power, by the aſſiſtance of God, as every good King in his kingdom ought in right to protect and defend the Biſhops, and churches under their government.'

"Then the King roſe from his chair, and being attended by the Lord Great Chamberlain, and ſupported by the two Biſhops (Ken and Crew) and the ſword of ſtate carried before him, he went to the altar, and laying his hand upon the Evangeliſts, took the Oath following. 'The things which I have here before promiſed, I will perform and keep. So help me God, and the contents of this Book.' And then he kiſſed the Book."*

His zeal, however, for the Roman Church ſoon prompted him to violate this pledge, and engaged him in an enterprize that could only ſucceed by proſtrating the laws and liberties he had ſworn to maintain. The Houſe of Commons, in the previous reign, had paſſed reſolutions to exclude him from the ſucceſſion on the ground of his avowed religion. This might have indicated to him the firm reſolve of the people to maintain the Anglican faith. But he would riſk all rather than compromiſe his tenets by any diſguiſe. No ſooner was he ſeated on the throne than he bent his whole mind to the eſtabliſhment of what he conſidered the only true Church; doubtleſs from a vivid ſenſe of reſponſibilities that lay beyond the "judgment of man's day." So far he challenges our reſpect. At no

* King James's Coronation: by Francis Sandford, folio, 1687.

period, before or after his dethronement, did he ſwerve from this fixed principle. He ſtaked his crown in the cauſe of his religion; and fanatic though he might be, and tyrant as he was, his ſelf-ſacrifice was an act of perſonal devotion. In one of his letters, when Duke of York, he writes, "Pray, once for all, never ſay any thing to me again of turning Proteſtant: do not expect it, or flatter yourſelf that I ſhall ever be it. I never ſhall; and if occaſion were, I hope God would give me His grace to ſuffer death for the true Catholic religion, as well as baniſhment. What I have done was not haſtily, but upon mature conſideration, and foreſeeing all, and more than has yet happened to me." *

James was not wanting in qualities that in all ages have fitted men to bend others to their own will. Of unqueſtioned courage in the field, untiring in attention to buſineſs, frugal of his revenue, zealous even to hardihood in the purſuit of his ends, recklefs of the means for their attainment, deciſive and tenaciouſly firm of purpoſe. But with theſe he had the correſponding faults; being ſelf-confident, regardleſs of counſel, and therefore precipitate, and forgetful of the leſſons of experience. He knew not the art to govern men by their ſympathies, their prejudices, and their intereſts: and he was ſingularly unobſervant of the real character of thoſe about him, confiding where he ſhould have ſuſpected,—miſtruſtful where he might have repoſed the fulleſt confidence.

Either of his fondly cheriſhed deſigns would have demanded all the patience and ſkill of a conſummate

* Lord Dartmouth's MSS. notes on Burnet, vol. i. p. 358.

tactician; — one, to make himſelf an abſolute King over a brave people, whoſe free inſtitutions were endeared to them by chequered but ſucceſsful ſtruggles; — the other to re-eſtabliſh, under the dominion of the Pope, a worſhip that had been rendered odious to them by cruel perſecutions. The influence he had exerciſed in the foreign policy of his brother's reign tended to encreaſe the public prejudice againſt him. Even his own naval battles, were coldly thought of: it is true they ſuſtained the Engliſh character for undaunted bravery, but were directed rather to weaken their Proteſtant allies, the Dutch, than to humble the pride of Louis.

The nation, divided between attachment to the pure and primitive Church of England, and the modern ſpirit of Puritaniſm, concurred in a repugnance to Romiſh doctrines and government. All were rouſed to a deeper averſion by the King's haſty introduction of foreign prieſts and Jeſuits, and of pompous ceremonials, which both parties conſidered to be an unreal mockery of worſhip. This was aggravated by a ſolemn but futile embaſſy to the Pope, for the avowed purpoſe of reconciling the three kingdoms to the Roman ſee. The Ambaſſador, moreover, was received by the haughty Pontiff with an indifference that wounded the national pride, at all times jealous of foreign authority.

The King purſued his objects with infatuated zeal. He not only diſpenſed with the aſſiſtance of Parliament, and raiſed a large ſtanding army, but yielded himſelf to the guidance of a prieſtly junto, and the intereſted counſels of Louis, contrary to the advice of the Pope

himſelf, who foreſaw the fatal reſults of ſo unequal a conteſt.

He proceeded at firſt with comparative caution in England, where his movements were jealouſly watched by a more powerful ariſtocracy, and a more enlightened people. But in Scotland he at once reſolved to ſet himſelf above the laws, aſſuming by his "ſovereign authority, prerogative royal, and abſolute power, to ſuſpend, ſtop, and diſable all laws, ſtatutes, or acts of Parliament,"* againſt the Romaniſts, claiming for them the free exerciſe of their religion, which by the ſtatutes was prohibited. In Ireland his meaſures were taken with yet greater boldneſs: the Titular Biſhops had been authorized to hold a general Convention of the Romiſh Clergy on the 15th of May, 1686. The prieſts had inſtructions from their reſpective Biſhops to give an exact liſt of all the men in their pariſhes, capable of bearing arms; Lord Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant, was ordered to diſpenſe with the Judges taking the Oath of ſupremacy; nineteen Romaniſts were ſworn in as Privy Counſellors;—the corporations were filled with them;—all the Proteſtant officers and ſoldiers were diſmiſſed from the ſeveral regiments, and Roman Catholic chaplains appointed; "ſo that I doubt not, (ſays Lord Clarendon on the 6th of July, 1686) within a month, or little more, the whole army will be compoſed, as his Majeſty would have it." Thus "300 officers loſt their commiſſions, and above 5000 ſoldiers were ſent pilgrimizing, having nothing to truſt to but the charity of others, which in thoſe times was

* 12th February, 1687.

very cold, anſwerable to the ſeaſon of the year, and the climate of the country." * "Sir Alexander Fitton, a perſon detected of forgery both at Weſtminſter and Cheſter, and fined by the Houſe of Lords, was brought out of jail, and ſet over the higheſt court, as Lord Chancellor of Ireland, to keep the King's conſcience, having no other quality to recommend him beſides his being a converted Papiſt, and is a renegade to his religion and country." † To complete all, Colonel Talbot, a Papiſt, a mere ſoldier of fortune, inſolent and unprincipled, was created Earl Tyrconnel, and ſent over to ſuperſede Clarendon as Lord Lieutenant, and root out every faith but the Roman.

Emboldened by this ſucceſs, James made further advances towards the eſtabliſhment of Popery in England. Five Roman Catholic Lords were admitted to the Privy Council. The Judges were called upon to declare from the bench that the Crown was abſolute, —that the penal laws were powers committed to the King for the execution of juſtice, but not to bind his authority, or prevent his diſpenſing with them. This was preparatory to the ſame ſtep he had taken in Scotland. He ſent for the principal members of both houſes, and received them privately in his cloſet, endeavouring to perſuade them to abjure their religion, and to acquieſce in his meaſures. The chief officers of ſtate who refuſed compliance were removed. Popiſh ſheriffs and juſtices of the peace, taken from the loweſt of the people were appointed in the counties, as

* Life of James II. 8vo. 1702, p. 145.

† Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii. p. 151.

fit inſtruments of his purpoſe. All of every claſs who had courage to avow their attachment to the Anglican faith, and refuſed to comply with his arbitrary meaſures, were diſmiſſed from their employments. Popiſh biſhops were publickly conſecrated in the king's chapel, and under the title of "Vicars Apoſtolical," iſſued to the laymen of that communion paſtoral letters, which were printed at the royal preſs.

But the meaſure which, above all others, brought the nation to a full ſenſe of his deſigns againſt the Engliſh Church, was the appointment of an Eccleſiaſtical Court of Inquiſition, with unlimited powers to reform all abuſes, contempts, and offences of whatever nature, to cite before them eccleſiaſtical perſons of every degree or dignity, and to cenſure, ſuſpend, or deprive them without appeal; and further to alter the ſtatutes of the Univerſities, and all other corporations, civil and religious. The greater part of the Commiſſioners were Roman Catholics; Lord Chancellor Jefferies, "of nature cruel, and a ſlave of the court," was appointed always to preſide. Thus at once was eſtabliſhed an authority, more extenſive and arbitrary than the hated Star Chamber, and wielded by the blood-ſtained hand of one of the moſt infamous of men.

This court prohibited the clergy from controverting the doctrines of Rome in their ſermons; the king conſidering ſuch a topic to be a reflection on his perſon and government. He had already iſſued an order to the Archbiſhops to interdict preaching on diſputed points. But the clergy every where declared themſelves boldly againſt the errors of the Romiſh faith;

"and were wonderfully followed by the people. Not one conſiderable proſelyte was made in all this time. The party was exceedingly put to the worſt by the preaching and writing of the Proteſtants in many excellent treatiſes, evincing the doctrine and diſcipline of the Reformed religion, to the manifeſt diſadvantage of their adverſaries."*

Dr. Sharp, Rector of St. Giles's, and Dean of Canterbury, having made himſelf conſpicuous in defence of the Church, the King required Compton, Biſhop of London, immediately to ſuſpend him from any further preaching within his Dioceſe, for "preſuming to make unbecoming reflections, and inſinuating fears and jealouſies of our government." The anſwer of the Biſhop was worthy of his reſponſible ſtation: "he humbly conceived that he was bound to proceed according to law, and therefore it was impoſſible for him to comply, becauſe he muſt act in the capacity of a judge, and no judge condemns any man before he has knowledge of the cauſe, and has cited the party." Compton had already rendered himſelf obnoxious to the court; and it was thought that, in making him the firſt victim of their exorbitant power, the commiſſioners would ſhow the world their reſolution to carry out the King's deſigns. Their very firſt act therefore (on the 6th of Auguſt, 1686) was to ſummon him to the Council Chamber at Whitehall. Compton pleaded the illegality of the court, denied their juriſdiction, and was ſuſpended from all epiſcopal functions, on pain of deprivation, and removal from his Biſhopric.

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* Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 636.

While the King's public meaſures were urged on by an intemperate zeal and precipitancy that ruined the cauſe he had in hand, he was prompted by the raſh counſels of the Queen and the Jeſuits who thronged the palace, to exhibit to the wandering people the moſt obnoxious ceremonies of his religion. As the diſpenſer of all offices of honour and emolument, he might perhaps have gained over many proſelytes by a cautious and watchful policy: but his harſh and imperious nature could brook no conditions, or limit to his will. Confident in the ſoundneſs of his creed, extravagant in the aſſumption of his prerogative, and relying on the devotion of the army, he ventured to rend aſunder the bond of union between himſelf and his ſubjects. The moſt faithful of his Proteſtant adherents were ſtartled by a public celebration of Maſs in the royal chapel. Evelyn thus deſcribes the ſcene: "I went to hear the muſic of the Italians in the new chapel, now firſt opened publickly at Whitehall for the Popiſh ſervice. Here we ſaw the (Roman Catholic) Biſhop in his mitre and rich copes, with ſix or ſeven Jeſuits and others, in rich copes, ſumptuouſly habited, often taking off and putting on the Biſhop's mitre, who ſate in a chaire with armes pontifically, was ador'd and cens'd by three Jeſuits in their copes; then he went to the altar, and made divers cringes, then cenſing the images, and glorious tabernacle plac'd on the altar, and now and then changing place: the crozier, which was of ſilver, was put into his hand, with a world of myſterious ceremony, the muſic playing, with ſinging. I could not have believed I ſhould ever have ſeen ſuch things in the King of England's Palace, after it

had pleaſed God to enlighten this nation; but our great ſin has, for the preſent, eclips'd the bleſſing, which I hope He will in mercy and His good time reſtore to its purity." *

The clergy perceived that the full eſtabliſhment of Popery was the determinate object of all the King's meaſures. They had ever been firm adherents of the throne, — even to the length of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance. But theſe ceaſed to be a duty, when the very exiſtence of the reformed religion was at ſtake: to compromiſe that were a betrayal of the Faith they had vowed to uphold. They were under a higher obligation of obedience than any lay authority could challenge, and bound to undergo all ſufferings rather than violate their ſolemn truſt. It was clear to them that an attempt was made to reſtore by the ſecular arm a Church, which had overlaid the Apoſtolic Creed with novel articles of belief. They prepared themſelves therefore to a courageous defence, reſolved to ſtand or fall as champions of primitive truth.

In the foremoſt rank was the Biſhop of Bath and Wells. He had lately, on the approach of Lent, addreſſed a Paſtoral Letter to his clergy concerning their behaviour during that ſeaſon, which he ſays "has been anciently and chriſtianly ſet apart for penitent humiliation of ſoul and body, for faſting, and weeping and praying." He pleads his Epiſcopal authority, unworthy as he was, for calling upon them to mourn for their ſins, and the ſins of the nation. He juſtifies himſelf by the example of St. Cyprian, who from his

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 634, 29th December, 1686.

retirement wrote an excellent Epistle to his Clergy. He exhorts them to prayer, and mortification, and deeds of charity, to deal their bread to the hungry, and to Protestant strangers, now fled hither for sanctuary. He animates them to the greatest zeal in private and public prayers, morning and evening, in their families, and in Church—"This I might enjoin you to doe on your canonical obedience, but for love's sake I rather beseech you. Be not discouraged, if but few come to the 'solemn assemblies:' but go to the 'house of prayer,' where 'God is well known for a sure refuge;' go, though you go alone, or but with one besides yourself. 'Teach publickly, and from house to house, and warn every one night and day with tears' to repent, to fast, and to pray, and to give alms; warn them to continue stedfast in that 'faith, once delivered to the Saints,' in which they were baptized; to keep the word of God's patience, that God may keep them in the hour of temptation." He shows from the example of David, who 'wept whole rivers,' of Daniel and Paul, how the greatest saints have been the greatest mourners. He alludes to the public provocations, and the public judgments; and ends with a prayer that "the God of all grace may establish, strengthen, settle you in the true Catholick, and Apostolick Faith, profess'd in the Church of England."

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"THO. BATH AND WELLS."*

From the Palace in Wells,
February 17, 1687.

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* "A Pastoral Letter from the Bishop of Bath and Wells." 4to. 1688.

Employments ſuch as this were beſt ſuited to his gentle nature; and he would fain have reſerved all his powers to promote the welfare of his dioceſe. But the intereſts of the Church now required him to put aſide the more private duties of conſolation and inſtruction, that he might publickly vindicate her doctrines, though it ſhould be in oppoſition to the orders of the Court of Commiſſion, and within hearing of its judges.—Being appointed to preach at Whitehall on the 13th of March, 1687 (the 5th Sunday in Lent), he came to London, reſolved to bear his teſtimony to the truth. The ſermon was preached "before the Princeſs of Denmark,* and a great crowd of people, and at leaſt thirty of the greateſt nobility," of whom perhaps ſome talebearer would report his words to the King.

His text was taken from the Goſpel of the day, St. John vii. 46. "Which of you convinceth Me of ſin, and if I ſay the truth, why do ye not believe Me?" "He deſcribed through his whole diſcourſe the blaſphemies, perfidy, wreſting of Scripture, preference of tradition before it, ſpirit of perſecution, ſuperſtition, legends and fables of the Scribes and Phariſees, ſo that all the auditory underſtood his meaning of a parallel between them and the Romiſh Prieſts, and their new Trent religion. He exhorted his audience to adhere to the written word, and to perſevere in the faith taught in the Church of England, *whoſe doctrine for Catholic and ſoundneſs he preferred to all the Communities and Churches of Chriſtians in the world;* concluding with a kind of prophecy that, whatever it ſuffered, it ſhould

* Afterwards Queen Ann: ſhe had married George, Prince of Denmark.

after a short trial emerge to the confusion of her adversaries, and the glory of God."* It does not appear that he received any reprimand for this boldness, as he did afterwards, on a like occasion. Evelyn says "the sermon contributed not a little to the manifest disadvantage of the Popish interest."

The following Sunday, 20th March, 1687, being that next before Good Friday, he preached again at St. Martin's Church, on Christ's agony in the garden: his text was St. Matt. xxvi. 36—40. "Then cometh Jesus with them to a place called Gethsemane," &c. Here was a subject to absorb all feelings into a contemplation of the mysterious sufferings of the Son of God. At that sacred season, when the Church commemorates the approach of the death He was to die for all, who could enter into political or theological controversy? "*The crowd of people was not to be expressed, nor the wonderful eloquence of this admirable preacher*, describing the bitterness of our blessed Saviour's agony, the ardour of His love, the infinite obligations we have to imitate His patience and resignation, the means by watching against temptations and over ourselves, with fervent prayer to attain it, and the exceeding reward in the end. Upon all which he made most pathetical discourses." †

We cannot be surprized that one so high in station, so eloquent and undaunted, should draw crowds of people to hear him during the prevailing excitement. But he has deeper and more lasting claims to the confidence of the Church in all times. It was not merely the force of his oratory, his noble images, and moving

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 637. † Ibid. p. 638.

exhortations, that gathered all claſſes round him: not the copiouſneſs of his invention, nor the purity of his language, as he ſet before them the promiſes and threatenings of the Goſpel. Theſe and other powers had gained him, even from King James, the character of being the moſt eloquent preacher among the Proteſtants: but there was much beyond theſe qualities in all he ſaid. The ſecret of his perſuaſiveneſs lay in the ſublime myſterious truths, inculcated in every diſcourſe. With a paternal love he drew men to deſire the company of angels, and the unclouded happineſs of the eternal Kingdom. Whilſt he expreſſed a deep and tender concern for the ſpiritual advancement of the Church, vindicating the truth of her doctrines, and exhorting all men to a holy conſtancy in her defence, he reminded them that the Church is only glorious, becauſe ſhe is the ordained inſtrument for drawing men to Him who was lifted up for their ſalvation.

On theſe occaſional viſits to London, he was the gueſt of the Biſhop of Ely, who had his palace near Holborn, and we find that he uſed to aſſiſt at the ſervices in the Biſhop's Chapel. It was about this time that the Princeſs Ann wrote a letter to Dr. Turner to keep her a place, that ſhe might liſten to him. "I hear the Biſhop of Bath and Wells expounds this afternoon in your Chapel, and I have a great mind to hear him; therefore I deſire you would do me the favour to let ſome place be kept for me, where I may hear well, and be the leaſt taken notice of: for I will bring but one body with me, and deſire I may not be known. I ſhould not have given you the trouble, but that I was afraid if I ſent any body,

they might have made some mistake. Pray let me know what time it begins?"* We may well believe how the Chapel was crowded, when it was necessary for the Princess to have a place reserved for her, that she might hear the eloquent author of the Exposition of the Catechism.

Urged on by a blind and fatal confidence, James now ventured on the great measure by which he hoped to accomplish all his ends;—the suspension of the Test, and other penal laws against Romanists and Dissenters. Whatever may be our opinion of the injustice of such laws, it is obvious that, having been enacted by Parliament, the King's claim to suspend them by his mere authority was illegal. This had been fully established in the reign of Charles II. who had made a Declaration of Indulgence in 1672: but on the remonstrance of both Houses of Parliament cancelled it, tore off the seal himself, and acquainted the Houses that he had done so, with this further assurance, which was entered upon record in the Journals of the Lords, "that it should never be drawn into example or consequence."†

James, however, would be restrained by no law but his own will. Having carried his point in Scotland and Ireland, he published, on the 4th of April 1687,‡ a general Declaration of liberty of conscience to all his subjects, proclaiming it to be his "Royal will and pleasure, that the Oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and also the several tests and declarations, mentioned in the

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* Round's Prose Works of Ken, p. 208.

† Kennett's Hist. Vol. iii. p. 487. 8th Nov. 1673.

‡ London Gazette of this date.

Acts of Parliament in the 25th and 30th years of the reign of his late Royal Brother, ſhould not at any time be required to be taken by any perſon, employed in any office of truſt, either civil or military." This Declaration, although it included the various ſects of Proteſtant Diſſenters, proceeded from no ſympathy towards them: it was an endeavour to cloak his great project of introducing Romaniſts to all offices of truſt, under cover of a general toleration.

But the Diſſenters received it as a princely act of clemency: fulſome addreſſes poured in from all denominations; no language could be too ſtrong to expreſs their admiration of the moſt enlightened and generous of Kings, who had removed all reſtraint from the conſciences of his people. Their triumph was exuberant; and not the leſs becauſe they thought this act of toleration ſtruck at the aſcendancy of the Church. James ſeemed to enjoy a momentary ſucceſs in fomenting the ſpirit of jealouſy between them. He hoped to make their diſunion a ſtepping ſtone to the eſtabliſhment of his own creed. The Diſſenters were ready to fall into the ſnare, forgetting that, if Popery were once ſet up on the ruins of the Church of England, they themſelves would afterwards be an eaſy prey. But the artifice did not long eſcape detection. They ſoon perceived that this ſudden toleration was but a pretence. They called to mind the long period of their ſlights and diſabilities at the inſtigation of James, and how he had always teſtified his repugnance to their principles. To them he had conſtantly aſcribed his father's death. They remembered alſo how marked a preference he had always ſhown to the members of the Church, praiſing

them as good and loyal subjects, faithfully attached to the monarchy. They could not but reflect that a Roman Catholic prince must needs labour to extirpate the tenets, which he pronounced to be heretical; and that they would be the first to feel the consequences of his success. The Church party likewise clearly saw that the King, disappointed of their expected support, wished to undermine their influence by pretending a liberality wholly foreign to his nature. These convictions seemed likely to soften the jealousies of both, and might have led to more charitable sentiments towards each other. But events crowded on so fast they had scarcely time to do more than indicate a disposition to mutual forbearance, and a united resistance to the establishment of Romanism. The whole brunt of the contest fell on the Church, and nobly did she sustain it.

The King, when it was too late, perceived that he had overacted his part: he says "he had much heightened the general disaffection by the great countenance he showed to many noted Presbyterians, who were in outward show grateful for their present ease; and as it is natural for a Prince to be pleas'd with those who are pleas'd with him, so they were well looked upon at Court, and their counsel made use of in the management of several private affairs, as the regulating Corporations, and the like: but this was the sequel of that train, which his treacherous counsellors had traced out for him, to set those against him, who might otherwise have been his friends, and to court those who, they were sure, never would."*

* "Memoirs writ of his own hand." Clarke, Vol. ii. p. 165.

CHAPTER XVII.

Ken's Sermon in the Abbey Church of Bath—The King touches for the Evil in the Abbey — Ken's conduct on the occasion — His letters to Archbishop Sancroft.

THE Bishop, having preached his Lent Sermon at Whitehall, returned as usual to his Diocese: we find him on the following Ascension day (5th May, 1687) in the Abbey Church of Bath, where he preached on Psalm xlvii. 5. "God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet." The Sermon itself is not extant: but we gather some of its principal points from a scarce tract, published at the time by an Irish Jesuit. The author had been induced by some high praises of the Bishop's eloquence to attend, for the first time in his life, the service of the Reformed Church, being "no less curious than desirous to hear him."

The tract is entitled, "ANIMADVERSIONS, by way of answer to a Sermon, preached by Dr. Thomas Kenne, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, in the Cathedral Church of Bath, on Ascention-day last, being the 5th of May, 1687:" It is dedicated to the King, and published "with allowance." It begins, "I was honoured, My Lord, with being one of your Auditors last Ascention-day, in the afternoon, at the cathedral church of Bath. Your Lordship does not, I own,

want the parts of an Orator, and of an Evangelical one too, had you but ſuck'd your doctrine (as St. John hath done) '*de ſacro Dominici pectoris fonte*,' that is to ſay within the Boſom of his only true Spouſe on Earth, the Roman Catholic Church, Mother and Miſtreſs of all viſible churches."

The writer "was much aſtoniſhed at the odd ſight of a preacher beginning a Sermon without making the ſign of the croſs." He informs us that the Biſhop "was a full hour and a half in chair." "I took notice that your Lordſhip gave a fling at the Pope's Supremacy, to which you ſhow'd all averſion imaginable, and that becauſe he is call'd Supream Spiritual Head of Chriſt's Church on Earth. We call His Holineſs, it is true, Supream Spiritual and Viſible Head, Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, and ſucceſſor to St. Peter, the firſt viſible Head our Saviour hath ordained in his Church. I remember you ſaid that Jeſus Chriſt was, and is, the only Spiritual Head of His Church. You muſt needs know I admir'd * much your vehemency in proteſting againſt that Church, which allows of any Viſible Spiritual Head: you flew to ſuch eagerneſs of contradiction againſt this Spiritual Supremacy, that I thought you had ſome ſolid authority to diſprove the pretended abuſe, till at laſt I found you had no ſuch proof in nature."—

"Let us now come to the controverſie of the laſt part, which was with much vehemency againſt the Real Preſence. I did no ſooner hear your ſolemn proteſtation againſt this Holy Sacrament, than imme-

* i. e. was much aſtoniſhed at.

diately I ſuppoſed you were an abjurator, ready to ſwear point blank that Chriſt's moſt ſacred Humanity is not really and ſubſtantially on our altars in virtue of the ſacramental words: for I ſaw you exhorted with paſſion your People 'not to be tottered by every blaſt of wind, that ſhall ſay Chriſt is on this altar, or Chriſt is on that altar, for Chriſt is actually in Heaven, and ſhall continue there till He comes to judge at the end of the world.' In fine, I remember your Lordſhip proteſted mightily againſt Roman Catholics for coining and forgeing new Articles of Faith, as well in relation to Tranſubſtantiation, as the Spiritual Supremacy, &c.' This is the ſubſtance, my Lord, of all the controvertible points I took notice of in your laſt Aſcention Sermon."

On the ſubject of the Real Preſence, he fancies that he has made a diſcovery of the Biſhop's contradicting his previous writings. "You are not conſtant to yourſelf: for now you receive Chriſt's Fleſh and Blood virtually, now figuratively, another time ſpiritually by Faith, and in the Expoſition of your Catechiſm you contradict all. Your words, my Lord, are Catholick enough on paper, but quite contrary to what you teach in the Pulpit; for there you ſay that the Body and Blood of Chriſt is verily and indeed taken by the Faithful, and here you ſay not at all: ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another, ſpiritually to-day by Faith only, and virtually to-morrow, and in your Catechiſm you write 'indeed and verily.'"

The Jeſuit makes another fancied diſcovery, and therein pays a tribute to the Biſhop's holy life at the expenſe of his candour: "unleſs I be much miſtaken, that day's controverſie was in order to take away all

ſuſpicion of your being Roman Catholickly inclined: for your Lordſhip living (as *Seneca* ſaith) *ſine impedimento*, that is to ſay, without a wife, and having the reputation of one that lives morally well, which is enough for the Rabble * to ſay you are Popiſhly affected, you undertook that day's work to take away the ſcandal, which had no other ground than your good works: thank then, my Lord, your own Church for this abuſe, which proceeds from that unhappy Merit-killing doctrine, which drives out of your ſchools all good Works, and meritorious actions."

It appears the Jeſuit could not reſiſt his curioſity to hear once more the eloquent Biſhop; for he went the next Friday to hear him preach again; he beſtows only a ſhort notice of reprobation on that ſermon: "To this purpoſe (of meritorious actions) I remember the Friday following your Lordſhip uſed all the means in your Inſtruction of Faith to perſuade your auditors that Abraham's juſtification was for his faith, and not for his good works: all your proof was, becauſe Abraham believed before he was circumciſed," &c. "I think I cannot deal fairer with your Lordſhip than remit you to the weſtern window of that cathedral, wherein I heard you preach, and there you will find in capital letters your own judgment, † drawn out of the 2nd chapter of St. James v. 26. 'For as the body without the ſpirit is dead, ſo Faith without good Works is Dead alſo.'"

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* Wood ſays of this tract, "never was ſo much ignorance and impudence in ſo ſmall a Pamphlet expreſſed, as the true ſons of the Church of England uſually ſaid."

† i. e. refutation.

It is difficult to ſay who was the author of this Tract. He publiſhed only his initials F. I. R., deſignating himſelf "a moſt loyal Iriſh ſubject, of the Company of Jeſuits." No doubt he was an attendant of the Queen, who was at this time drinking the Bath waters. He could not perform a more dutiful ſervice to royalty than to attack ſo eminent a Biſhop in his paſtoral chair: he "conſecrates himſelf, and this little paper, together with all the faculties of his ſoul and body, to His moſt ſacred Majeſty's ſpiritual and temporal ſervice;" and prays that "your Majeſty and your Royal Conſort may be ſettled on a Throne of Glory in Heaven, after living a full century of years in all proſperity on earth, to the perfect converſion of all your ſubjects."

We ſhall ſee how effectually James thwarted the latter part of this good wiſh. His object now was to perſuade the Parliament to confirm by ſtatute his Declaration of Indulgence. But the Members remained ſtedfaſt: he miſcalculated the Engliſh character in ſuppoſing that they would barter their deareſt rights for the empty condeſcenſions of the royal interviews, which ſerved rather to confirm their ſenſe of the public danger, than to win their concurrence. If the only high way to his favour lay through Rome, they were not prepared for ſuch a journey. "Moſt of the Parliament men were ſpoken to in His Mj^ty's cloſet, and ſuch as refuſed, if in any place or office of truſt, civil or military, were put out of their employments. This was a time of great trial, but hardly one of them aſſented, which put the Popiſh intereſt much backward."*

Evelyn's Diary, vol. i. p. 636.

The King, in his Memoirs, says, "the generality of the gentry were so byaced against the Declaration of Indulgence, that when His Majesty thought fit to ask many persons of distinction to make their resolutions therein, he found a much greater reluctancy than could well have been imagined; and indeed that method was no ways relish'd by the people." *

The King therefore dissolved the Parliament, and issued writs for a new election. He then set out on a state progress through the Western Counties, in hopes that the royal presence might further his grand project of a new and more compliant Parliament. Before this, however, he prepared a splendid pageant for the edification of the people. The Pope was no friend to James's chief counsellors, the Jesuits, and had great misgiving of their manœvres in driving on to a hasty crisis: but he could not resist the invitation to appoint a nuncio from the Holy See. He hoped perhaps that the influence of this recognized Ambassador might restrain the reckless zeal of the King. It was contrived that the nuncio should be publickly received at Windsor the day after the Dissolution of Parliament. "To fill up the character of Nuncio with more pomp and lustre, he had been consecrated Archbishop of Amasia in the royal chapel at Whitehall, † by the Vicar Apostolical in England, assisted by two other Roman Catholic Bishops. He was now to make his public entry as a foreign minister, and the government itself was to glory in the account of it.

"The 3rd of July, Monsieur Ferdinand d'Adda,

* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 143.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 116.

Archbiſhop of Amaſia, Domeſtic Prelate and aſſiſtant to His Holineſs the Pope, and Apoſtolic Nuncio, had public audience of their Majeſties at Windſor, being conducted by His Grace the Duke of Grafton, and Sir Charles Cotterell, one of the Maſters of the Ceremonies, in one of His Majeſty's Coaches with all the honours and ceremonies uſually obſerved on the like occaſions," &c.* No ſuch ſight having been ſeen in England, for about an hundred and fifty years before, the concourſe of people on this occaſion was without example: yet their ſurprize at the pomp and magnificence of the ſolemnity was ſurpaſſed by their indignation to behold a Repreſentative of the Pope in all his Pontificals preceded by a Croſs-bearer, and attended by a flock of prieſts and monks in the habits of their reſpective orders.†

All now proceeded glorioſly for the cauſe in hand, as the Jeſuits ſuppoſed. The King ſet forward on his progreſs, accompanied by his court, his Roman Catholic chaplains, Father Petre, and William Penn the Quaker,—a ſtrange yoking of motley creeds. Who could doubt the liberal ſentiments of the royal mind, when ſuch oppoſite profeſſors were taken into favour? And that he might render himſelf more popular, he reſolved to exerciſe the gift of touching for the Evil.

It is ſurpriſing to look back, and ſee how credulous all claſſes were in the efficacy of this princely prerogative. From St. Edward, the Confeſſor, to the licentious Charles, the unction of the Royal hand was ſuppoſed to convey the power of healing the moſt

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* London Gazette. † Rapin, vol. ii. p. 760.

loathsome strumous diseases: the lame and the blind, the impotent and the idiot went forth from the King's presence restored by his sacred touch. We have it on record from one of "His Majesty's Chirurgeons in Ordinary" in a marvellous book, (with a no less marvellous title,* containing a whole alphabet,) that Charles the Second touched above ninety two thousand persons for the Evil, in the course of his reign: the work in fact "carried more of Divinity than Majesty in it; the art of physic was nonplus'd, and Chirurgery tied up; all chirurgeons whatsoever must truckle to the balsamic power; more souls have been healed by His Majesty's sacred hand in one year, than have been cured by all the physicians and chirurgeons of his Three Kingdoms since his happy Restauration!" †

And yet, incredible as this may at first seem, it is capable of a satisfactory solution: for this touching for the evil was attended by all the pomp of circumstance, and made pre-eminently infallible by each of the sick being presented with a gold medal, strung upon a white silk ribbon, and put about his neck by the princely hand. If physicians now-a-days, instead of receiving, were to pay a golden fee to their patients, what crowds of hypocondriacs would beset their doors!

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* ADENOCHOIRADELOGIA; or An Anatomick-Chirurgical Treatise of Glandules and Strumaes, or Kings-Evil-Swellings, Together with the *Royal Gift of Healing*, or Cure thereof by Contact or Imposition of Hands, performed for above 640 years by our *Kings of England*, Continued with their admirable effects, and Miraculous Events; and concluded with many wonderful examples of Cures by their Sacred Touch. By John Browne, &c. &c. 8vo. 1684.

† Ibid. Third Book, p. 81.

Such was the loyal defire of the people to behold their Sovereign's perfon, and to receive the "falutiferous faculty" of the royal touch, and alfo to touch the gold of his exchequer, that it was often found indifpenfable to their perfect cure to undergo the pleafing ceremony a fecond time. Strange to fay, many ignorant people made the miftake of "looking more after the gold than the cure:"—nay there was another fort fo like "fnakes in the grafs, that, making it their ftudy to cheat the king of his gold, and having been touched and received the gold, they were ready to fell and part with it; and were not this true, and very commonly put in practice, his majefty's touching medals would not be fo frequently feen in goldfmiths' fhops."*

When the King intended to exercife the fanative powers inherent in him, public notice was given of the time, which was generally on a Sunday after morning prayer: the phyficians and furgeons in ordinary examined the candidates, and delivered out certificates of their being fit objects for healing. At the time appointed, the King "being feated in his royal chair, furrounded by his nobles, and many fpectators, the chief yeoman of the guard placed the fick people in a convenient order to avoid noife and confufion;—one of the chaplains now read part of the Gofpels, after which the chief furgeon making three obeifances brought each perfon to the king to be touched; then the Clerk of the Clofet, on his knees, delivered to the King the gold medals, ready ftrung on the white filk ribbon, which the King would put round the neck of the pa-

* Ibid. Third Part, p. 92.

tients. After this, a further part of the chapter of St. John, with ſome reſponſes and prayers, were read by the chaplain, concluding with the "Grace of our Lord."* This being finiſhed, the Lord Chamberlain and two other nobles preſented the King with linen, and the baſon and ewer, to waſh his hands: and ſo he took leave of the people, and they "joyfully and thankfully returned home, praiſing God and their good King. Many of which, as if amazed at the ſpeedy farewell of their diſeaſes, have immediately been cured to admiration, even in the preſence, before they have got out of the Banquetting Houſe at Whitehall." This was the uſual place of the ceremony, when performed in London: ſometimes it was at Windſor; often in the town hall or other public building, even in the church, of the place where the King might be.

The Royal Gift had become a uſeful engine of ſtate for ſtrengthening the people's attachment and veneration for the perſon of the King. He appeared, on thoſe occaſions, like "the riſing ſun over his people diffuſing his healing rays." Neither the ſacred touch, however, nor the royal gold, appear to have had any real influence in mitigating the various frightful ſymptoms of the diſorder — glandula, nodus, lippitudo, bronchocheli, atheroma, ſteatoma, &c. For "although there hath been ſcarce a city or town, or ſcarce a ſtreet in this populous city, that hath not found the benefit of his majeſty's hand: yet, as if this diſeaſe did get a new birth by converſation, it meets the King wherever he goes, with as much vigour and plenty as if the work

* Ibid. Third Part, p. 98.

were now to begin. And as a very ſtrange mark hereof, although I do believe near half the nation hath been touched and healed by his ſacred Majeſty ſince his happy reſtauration, yet upon any new appearance of a freſh healing, they are ſeen to come in afreſh and as faſt as if not one had been touched by him: a thing as ſtrange as monſtrous! Indeed ſome having received his Majeſty's gracious touch, and loſing their gold, their diſtemper has *de novo* ſeized them again; and theſe alſo, upon gaining a ſecond touch, and *new gold*, their diſeaſes have been ſeen utterly to have been chaſed away, and they themſelves perfectly cured." *

James, in his progreſs to the weſt, reached Bath towards the end of Auguſt: notice was given that he would touch for the evil in the Abbey after morning prayer. He found no lack of candidates for the privilege of the royal gift. That all who approached might receive their cure through faith in the Bleſſed Virgin's interceſſion, a new form of Prayers for the healing, which had been previouſly publiſhed by authority, was here uſed. The Biſhop was at Wells: hearing of what was going forward, he was in doubt what courſe he ought to take. He found himſelf unexpectedly placed in a novel ſituation. The act of the King in touching for the Evil,—the uſe of a popiſh office of prayer, and the great noiſe and confuſion of a concourſe of people, violated the ſanctity of the Church. Yet it was quite beyond his power to ſtop the proceeding,—the very attempt would have created an uproar: he choſe therefore to yield to the neceſſity of the mo-

* Ibid. Third Part, pp. 105-6.

ment, rather than hazard a greater confuſion in ſo ſacred a place.

But for fear the uſe of a Roman ritual in the Abbey ſhould be miſunderſtood, or the opening the church doors for any other offices than thoſe of the Church of England be drawn into precedent, he preached a ſermon, the following Sunday, to explain that the object of the ſervice, being one of charity, might qualify the otherwiſe unſeemly act. It is probable this was the ſermon which is referred to in the traditionary anecdote, mentioned by Warner. He ſays, "King James viſited Bath in 1687, accompanied alſo by Huddleſtone, his confeſſor. After decorating the altar of the Abbey Church, Huddleſtone is ſaid to have denounced the heretics, and exhorted them to an immediate change of their errors. Ken was preſent, and when Huddleſtone concluded mounted the pulpit, and expoſed his fallacies in a ſtrain of ſuch impreſſive eloquence, as aſtoniſhed and delighted his congregation, and confounded Huddleſtone, and the royal bigot."* Mr. Markland† reaſonably queſtions the very improbable fact of Ken being preſent. Indeed it was next to impoſſible that the Jeſuit ſhould ever have preached in the Abbey at all, though he might have helped to deck the altar on the occaſion of touching for the evil. There is another tradition that the Biſhop's voice was deep and ſonorous, and could be diſtinctly heard throughout the Abbey. This receives ſome confirmation from Perkins, the Poet Laureat, who among other enco-

* Warner's Hiſt. of Bath, p. 257.

† Markland's Life of Ken, 2nd Edit. p. 78.

miums on the "Famous Biſhop," ſays,

"When to the Bath her Royal Highneſs came,
KENN made the Abbey-Church reſound his fame;
Floods of grave eloquence did from him fall:
KENN in the Pulpit thunder'd like St. *PAUL*." *

He appears to have eſteemed it the duty of a Biſhop to do nothing of importance without the advice of his Primate: that he might, therefore, be prepared to act with authority, if the ſame circumſtance ſhould ever occur again, he thus writes to the Archbiſhop.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"My very good Lord,

THOUGH I have always been very tender of giving your Grace any trouble, yett I thinke it my duty, having this opportunity of a ſafe conveyance, to acquaint you with one particular, which happened at Bath, and to begge your advice for the future. When His Majeſty was at Bath there was a great healing, and without any warning, unleſſe by a flying report: the office was performed in the Church, between the houres of prayer. I had not time to remonſtrate, and if I had done it, it would have had no effect, but only to provoke: beſides I found it had been done in other churches before, and I know no place but the Church which was

* A Poem (both in Engliſh and Latin) on the Death of the Rt. Reverend Father in God, Thomas Kenn, ſometime Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells, &c. By Mr. Joſeph Perkins, the Latin Poet Laureat. 4to. 1711.

"Ad Fontes calidos (memini) cum † Filia Regis
Venerat, Hic ‡ Templum voce § boante replet.
Eloquii fluxit facundo flumen ab ore:
In roſtris tanquam Paulus et alter erat."

† Her R. H. ‡ The Abbey Church. § Tanquam Boanerges.

capable to receive ſo great a multitude as came for cure: upon which conſideration I was wholly paſſive. But being well aware what advantage the Romaniſts take from the leaſt ſeeming complyances, I took occaſion on Sunday from the Goſpell, the ſubject of which was the Samaritan, to diſcourſe of Charity, which I ſaid ought to be the religion of the whole world, wherein Samaritan and Jew were to agree, and though we could not open the Church-doores to a worſhip different from that we paid to God, yett we ſhould allwayes ſett them open to a common worke of Charity, becauſe, in performing mutuall offices of Charity one to another, there ought to be an univerſall agreement.

"This was the ſubſtance of what I ſaid upon that action, which I humbly ſubmitt to your Grace's Judgement; and it was the beſt expedient I could thinke of, to prevent giving ſcandall to our owne people, and to obviate all the miſrepreſentations the Romaniſts might make of ſuch a connivance. I am very ſenſible of your Grace's burthen, and doe beſeech Almighty Goodneſſe to ſupport you under it. And I earneſtly crave your Bleſſing, being ambitious of nothing more than to be one of the meaneſt of your Companions in your Kingdome and Patience of Jeſus.

"My good Lord,
Your Grace's moſt obedient Son and
humble Servant,

"Aug. 26th, 1687.*" THO. BATH AND WELLS."

We ſee in this letter the courageous ſpirit of a pri-

* Bodleian Tanner MSS. Vol. xxix. p. 65.

mitive Biſhop, deeply concerned for all under his care, unceaſingly watchful and active, yet without noiſe; guided by a holy prudence, while ſenſitive to any miſconſtruction that might wound the integrity of the Church, now put in peril by the higheſt authority of the land.

Here may be appropriately noticed two other letters of Ken, addreſſed a ſhort time after to Archbiſhop Sancroft; one dated the 1ſt of October 1687, in which he ſays "Many of the Cures in my Dioceſſe are ſo very ſmall, that I am very glad to gett a ſober perſon to ſupply them, though he is not a Graduate; but as for Ordinations, Your Grace may be aſſured that I endeavour all I can to lay hands ſuddenly on no man. I am very ſenſible of the charitable opinion you are pleaſed to have of me, and the favourable conſtruction you make of my actions: God grant I may in ſome meaſure anſwer your Grace's juſt expectations. I beſeech God of His infinite goodneſſe, and in mercy to His poore Church, to give you a ſuper-effluence of His H. Spirit, to aſſiſt and ſupport you, and I humbly begge your benediction."*

The other letter, dated 5th December 1687, is a meek apology to the Archbiſhop for having incurred his diſpleaſure about ſome paper, which had not been returned to him.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"My very good Lord,

"THE entire veneration I have ever had for your Grace makes your diſpleaſure the more afflicting, eſpe-

* Proſe Works of Ken, by Round, p. 39.

cially so great a displeasure against me, as your letter expresses, and that too for such a crime which I abhorre, no less than insincere dealing, and in the whole, I am so unhappy as to be supposed guilty by your Grace, and to be treated by you as if I were. But I hope your Grace will have that charity for me, to believe me when I with all humble submission acquaint you, that I never had the originall you mention. And if I had had it, I know not the least temptation imaginable I could have had to have detained it. The onely copy I had I have sent, and I thought it was the same you meant, having, as I understood your letter, lost the other: and I sent it through the Bishop of Ely, because I was tender of giving you the trouble of a letter which might be spared, and I sent it with a particular circumstance of duty to your Grace, that my old friend must needs be very forgetfull, if he gave no better account who it was that brought it, or how it came to his hands. I confesse I should have sent your paper sooner, and so I had done, had not the persons with whome my secretary was to transact businesse disappointed us, and this, if it be a fault, I presume is a venial one. But how much soever assured I am of my owne innocence, rather than tyre you with a tedious vindication of myselfe, I choose to begge your pardon, as well as your benediction.

"My good Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient Son and Servant,

"December 5th, 1687." THO. BATH AND WELLS.*

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* Round. p, 40.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The King perſeveres in his meaſures for the eſtabliſhment of Romaniſm—Ken's ſermon at Whitehall, for which he is reproved by James—His firm reply.

THE year 1688 dawned upon England as the morning of an eventful ſtruggle. Juſt a century before, Philip of Spain had threatened the religion and liberties of England. But how different then was the ſpirit of the ſovereign. Elizabeth, devoted to the honour and intereſts of the Kingdom, and zealous for the Reformed faith, riding in ſtate to review her armies at Tilbury, rouſed all claſſes to the higheſt pitch of loyalty and patriotiſm. James, on the other hand, a penſioner of France, reſolving to extirpate, as an obſtinate hereſy, the religion in which he had been brought up, and to bend his people to an arbitrary government, encamped his army on Hounſlow Heath, that he might over-awe them into an unwilling obedience.

The ſame brave and vigorous ſpirit animated the gentlemen, the clergy, and the people of England at each criſis. It is no vain boaſt that in our complex ſyſtem the character of the Engliſh gentry moulds and governs ſociety. Whatever violates the ſpirit of it offends the public mind. The Prince himſelf may not deviate from it;—the lower claſſes know how to appreciate it in thoſe who are above them, and confeſs to its

influence;—the ariſtocracy, as a claſs, are its beſt exemplars. It is true, indeed, that in every rank of life we have many ſhades of evil: in all nations the depraved will, the ſelfiſhneſs of the human heart, the deadening power of indulgence, exerciſe a fearful ſway. Still,—the character of the Engliſh Gentleman is a national character: it cannot be defined,—it forms the ſtandard which all aſpire to, the claim that every man of birth or property aſſerts, and the denial of which touches him moſt nearly.

Again, throughout the land, whether we regard rank, wealth, education, reach of intellect, purity of life, enlarged charity, the ſpirit of forbearance, the noiſeleſs tenour of a Chriſtian courſe, devoted loyalty, conſiſtent patriotiſm,—it will be found that the Church of England (in its cloſe union of Clergy and Laity) is the ſanctuary of England, the poor man's refuge,—the rich man's ſecurity, the Ægis of the throne. To all this James was utterly inſenſible: his every meaſure was oppoſed to the vigorous good ſenſe that characterized his people. He was completely under the dominion of a flock of foreign prieſts and Jeſuits, who vied with each other in driving him forward to a pure deſpotiſm, as the ſureſt means of eſtabliſhing a Popiſh rule.

At this period it was that Ken, once more, and for the laſt time, was appointed to preach the Lent ſermon. It ſeems ſtrange that one ſo conſtant to the intereſts of the Anglican Church, ſo brave in her defence, ſo uncompromiſing in the exerciſe of the paſtoral liberty, ſo unlikely to flatter, or to ſpare, ſhould be permitted, at ſuch a criſis, to denounce the errors of the Court re-

ligion, even within the King's Chapel. He came to London, that he might take his prefcribed duty on "Paffion Sunday," the 1ft of April 1688.

The knowledge that he was to be the Preacher drew together a vaft concourfe of perfons, eager in this moment of excitement to hear the moft eloquent of men, who would be fure to make a bold ftand for the rights of the Church. Fearful accounts had come over of the defpotifm eftablifhed in Ireland by the new Lord Lieutenant, Tyrconnel. We may form fome judgment of this from the recklefs meafures to which he inftigated the Irifh Parliament in the following year, when they paffed an Act to attaint two Archbifhops, one Duke, feventeen Earls, feven Countefles, eighteen Barons, thirty-three Baronets, fifty-one Knights, eighty-three Clergymen, two thoufand and eighty-two Efquires and Gentlemen;—all of them without a hearing adjudged guilty of high treafon, and declared worthy to fuffer the pains of forfeiture and death.* The King already feemed prepared for the fame meafures in Ireland, as Louis had perpetrated towards the Huguenots in France. He foon afterwards employed thofe two French barbarians, Rofen and Mammo, who had dragooned the Proteftants of Languedoc, and afterwards commanded the maffacres before Derry.

Every faithful paftor, therefore, was bound to witnefs for the truth of the Anglican Church,—to run all rifks, that he might keep the people ftedfaft to their

* The State of the Proteftants of Ireland, under the late King James's Government. By Dr. William King, Archbifhop of Dublin.—4to. 3rd Edition, 1691.

faith. Ken could not be indifferent or passive in such an emergency: he might be responsible, in his measure, for the ruin of all he held most dear, if he abstained from explicitly warning his hearers of the present danger. His part was not to preach up rebellion against the royal authority, but to inculcate stedfastness, and penitence for the public sins, which had called down the present judgments upon the nation. The scene in the Chapel at Whitehall on this occasion was an extraordinary one. "The Morning Sermon was preached by Dr. Stillingfleet, on the 10th Luke, 41, 42. The Holy Communion followed; but was so interrupted by the rude breaking in of multitudes, *zealous to hear the second sermon to be preached* (in the afternoon service) *by the Bishop of Bath and Wells*, that the latter part of that Holy Office could hardly be heard, or the sacred elements be distributed without great trouble."* The doors of the Chapel were not closed between the services, owing to the crowds who pressed in before the time to secure seats. At length the Princess Ann, with her attendants, having at the appointed hour taken her place in the Royal Gallery, on the left hand of the King's Chair, which was empty, and the prayers being ended, the Bishop went up into the pulpit. "He preached on 7th Micah, 8. 9. 10,† describing the calamity of the Reformed Church of Judah under the

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* Evelyn's Diary, Vol. i. p. 647.

† "*Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy; when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him, until He plead my cause, and execute judgement for me: He will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold His Righteousness.*"

Babylonian perſecution, for her ſins, and God's delivery of her, on her repentance; that, as Judah emerged, ſo ſhould the now Reform'd Church, however inſulted and perſecuted. *He preach'd with his accuſtomed action, zeal, and energy; ſo that people flock'd from all quarters to hear him.*"*

The principal points of his diſcourſe were the ſins of the "Reformed Church of Judah,"—her permitted ſufferings under the Babyloniſh captivity; the reproachful joy of the Edomites at her deſolation; her repentance under this viſitation; her patient ſubmiſſion, and confidence that God would one day plead her cauſe; the judgments executed on Belſhazzar, and his idolatrous Court; the puniſhment inflicted on the apoſtate Edomites, by the hands of the very Babylonians, whom they had encouraged and aſſiſted againſt her;—the deliverance of Judah from her captivity; and laſtly her joy in being brought by God to his true light, and permitted to behold His righteouſneſs, which made penitent, patient, Reformed Judah not only victorious, but triumphant.

Under the figure of Reformed Judah was repreſented the Church of England; the Babylonians were the Romaniſts, the Edomites the Diſſenters: the national ſins of Judah,—her calamities under the yoke of her enemies,—her repentance and ſubmiſſion,—her deliverance and triumph, are held out to "Proteſtant Reformed England" as her warning, her inſtruction, and her conſolation.

The Biſhop was not unconſcious of the dangers at-

* Evelyn's Diary, Vol. i. p. 647.

tendant on the ſubject he had choſen. The King had peremptorily forbid the clergy to preach on the controverſies of the day: he was at that moment attending maſs in another part of the palace; but would be ſure to hear of all that paſſed. Nevertheleſs Ken had a duty to diſcharge, higher than to any earthly authority, and though it had been at the hazard of his life, he dared not ſhrink from it.

He opens at once on the meaning and ſcope of the text. "Every one that hears this paſſage of Scripture will ſoon perceive what the Prophet intends, namely a repreſentation of the Church of Judah under the Babyloniſh Captivity." He then ſhows how the Prophets of old were wont to declare boldly the counſels of God, and alludes to the abſence of the King, which expoſed the preacher to the riſk of having his words miſrepreſented. "As the Prophet," he ſays, "directed his diſcourſe to the Church, to the Reformed Church in general, ſo he applied himſelf to all degrees of men in particular. He preach'd not only to the people, and to the prieſts, but to the Court; 'to the heads of the Houſe of Jacob, and to the Princes of the Houſe of Iſrael:' nay, to King Hezekiah himſelf; in whoſe preſence he delivered that direful prophesy, warning the king and the court of the danger they would certainly bring down, unleſs prevented by a national repentance."

"It was a bold undertaking to denounce God's judgements to the king, and to the court; and to tell them that the king's palace, and the whole city of Jeruſalem, ſhould be utterly deſtroyed: ſuch mortifying ſubjects as theſe courts, above all others, are not willing to hear of. But true Prophets, in the delivery of their meſ-

ſages, fear none but God, and dare ſay anything that God commands them. And there are times when Prophets cannot, muſt not, keep ſilence; when the watchmen ought to blow the trumpet, to give the warning of repentance to the whole land; or if the land will not take the warning, to free their own ſouls."

"Amos was originally neither Prophet nor Prophet's ſon, but a poor herdſman of Tekoa;* yet when God ſent him, he had courage from above to prophefy againſt Iſrael, againſt King Jeroboam, and againſt the worſhip of the Calves; to prophefy terrible things, even at Bethel, which was the King's chapel, and the King's court; and to prophefy in ſpite of Amaziah, the Prieſt of Bethel, who falſely accuſed him to Jeroboam for 'conſpiring againſt him;' adding 'that the land was not able to bear all his words:' as if a true zeal for God had been rebellion againſt the King."

Speaking of the Prophet, whoſe words wrought ſo ſucceſsfully on Hezekiah, he ſays, "happy was it for the King that he ſo devoutly attended to the Prophet: happy was it for the Prophet that he had the opportunity of preaching to the King himſelf. Had he preached theſe ſevere, though neceſſary, truths in another congregation, where a ſort of men, ſuch as the Pſalmiſt complains of, came on purpoſe to wreſt his words, and with thoughts againſt him for evil, *what tragical relations had been made of his ſermon!* But the Prophet was ſafe under the king's gracious protection, and in having the king himſelf for his auditor,

* This is in reference to his own elevation from a humble ſtation to the Epiſcopal chair.

who being like an angel of God, liked the preacher the better for the conſcientious diſcharge of his prophetick duty."

After deſcribing the Babylonians as cruel and mercileſs; a bitter and a haſty nation, very heavily laying their yoke on God's people, he proceeds; "I need ſay no more of them than this, that St. John, when he was to draw a prophetick deſcription of the great Antichriſt under the Goſpel, was directed by the Spirit of God to make Babylon the type, and to paint ſcriptural Babylon in the colours of the temporal; as if no nation under heaven were infamous and wicked enough to furniſh him with idolatry and pride, and uncleanneſs, and covetouſneſs, and cruelty, and impiety in full perfection, fit to reſemble the Man of Sin, but only the Babylonian."

Of the Edomites, he ſays, "They were the children of Eſau, and originally of the ſame blood, and of the ſame religion with Judah, though they revolted from the Church of God; and thoſe ſeemed to have derived from Eſau, their father, his perverſeneſs, which he remarkably ſhow'd to his aged mother; inſomuch that Joſephus gives them this character, that they were a turbulent and unruly nation, always prone to commotions, and rejoicing in changes." But their animoſity againſt Judah ſeemed to be hereditary; the loſs of the birth-right, and of the bleſſing in their father, entail'd revenge on all his poſterity. And they were all along the natural enemies of the children of Jacob. And when they ſaw Judah aſſaulted by the Babylonians, they ſided with Judah's enemies, and thirſted to have a ſhare in the deſtruction of God's Church. Such were the

enemies of afflicted Judah; and God in his juſt indignation againſt Judah's ſins, gave both theſe enemies their deſir'd ſucceſs; ſucceſs that was able to ſatiate the moſt impetuous and revengeful cruelty."

"Rejoice not, O ye Edomites; for in inſulting over me, ye inſult over your own miſeries, as well as mine. Our God has commanded the Jew not to abhor an Edomite, for he is his brother. Why ſhould not this command be mutually obſerved on both ſides? Why ſhould the Edomite abhor his brother Jew? If both ſides had been to blame, why ſhould not their common danger have reconciled them? Ah! had Judah and Edom reviv'd that brotherly affection which, before the loſs of the birth-right, harbour'd in the breaſts of their fathers, Jacob and Eſau; *had they both join'd* for the common ſafety againſt the Babylonian, the common enemy, humanly ſpeaking, both might have preſerv'd their liberty: but Edom will be an eaſy prey to the Babylonian, now her neighbour Judah is led captive. Rejoice not, then, againſt captive Judah; ſince every wound you give to Judah makes Edom bleed."

He exhibits great copiouſneſs of invention in deſcribing the faith of penitent Judah in God's tenderneſs and mercy, though His countenance ſeemed to be withdrawn from them. "Nor was Judah," he ſays, "only confident of deliverance, but of ſupport alſo in the meantime: 'when I ſit in darkneſs, the Lord will be a light unto me!' and this confidence was grounded on the uſual conduct of propitious Providence. For in Micah, and the reſt of the Prophets, when God denounces judgements againſt his people, his threats are intermingled with promiſes of bleſſings, either temporal

or evangelical. Well, then, might penitent Judah ſay, 'when I ſit in darkneſs the Lord will be a light unto me.' When I am depriv'd of all the comforts of life, abandon'd by all worldly ſuccours; * when God himſelf ſeems to deſert me, and ſuffer me to lie 70 years together in a vexatious captivity; when God ſeems 'to cover himſelf with a cloud, that my prayer ſhould not paſs through;' then will the Lord be a light unto me; at midnight I ſhall ſee a clear ſunſhine. In the multitude of the ſorrows I ſhall then have in my heart, God's comforts ſhall refreſh my ſoul. My inſulting enemies hinder my other friends, but cannot hinder God, who is my beſt friend, from viſiting me. When poor, captive, exile, penitent Judah, lies chain'd in a Babyloniſh dungeon, dark as hell; yet the rays of the divine benignity can pierce through the thickeſt darkneſs, to enlighten and revive me. My chains will then be more eligible than liberty; Babylon will make me forget Sion. My very dungeon will be heaven upon earth,† when I enjoy God there. No ſad thought ſhall ariſe, but I can take ſanctuary in one of his gracious promiſes, which ſhall inſtantly diſpel it. If this be captivity, by becoming a Babyloniſh ſlave to become the Lord's freeman, O may my captivity laſt not ſeventy, but ſeventy times ſeven years. No time, O

* This paſſage is applicable to himſelf in the after period of his life, when he was deprived of his Biſhoprick.

† "Heav'n is, dear Lord, where'er Thou art,
O never then from me depart;
For to my ſoul 'tis Hell to be,
But for one moment, without Thee."

KEN'S Morning Hymn.

Lord, is long; eternity itſelf is not tedious, that is ſpent in thy fruition. O Almighty Goodneſs, thou only canſt make captivity deſirable: welcome, then, darkneſs; there will I ſit, deſiring to ſee no light but what comes from thy countenance; for thou art light, and liberty, and joy, and all in all to thoſe who, for thy ſake, are content for awhile to ſit in darkneſs."

In this ſimple faith, he exhorts the Church to patience, and non-reſiſtance, waiting till the Lord ſhould plead the cauſe of His Church. "God commanded Judah to ſerve the King of Babylon; and aſſur'd them, that if they ſerv'd him, they ſhould live. And they were to 'pray for the peace of that city; that in the peace thereof they might have peace.' So that all Judah was enjoin'd by God patient ſubmiſſion to that king. They were to ſubject their perſons to the Babyloniſh government, but not to proſtitute their conſciences to the Babyloniſh idolatry, whenſoever the commands of God, and of the king of Babylon, ſtood in competition. To have then obey'd the king had not been allegiance, but apoſtacy. In ſuch caſes the true Iſraelites would always be martyrs, but never rebels; they reſolutely choſe to obey God, and patiently to ſuffer the lions' den, the fiery furnace, and the extremity of the king's diſpleaſure."

It would be difficult to find in our language a finer ſpecimen of bold, empaſſioned eloquence than his rapid deſcription of the puniſhment that fell on the Babylonians, when the time was come for Judah's deliverance. "The Judgment God executed for his people was in all circumſtances moſt remarkable. For vengeance ſurpriz'd Babylon, when the great Belſhazzar, and his

court and his concubines, were gorging themselves at a luxurious, idolatrous feast; 'drinking themselves drunk' in the vessels of the Temple, and wallowing in their own loathsome vomits. It was then the King saw the fatal hand-writing on the wall; 'at which his countenance fell, and his thoughts troubled him, and the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.' Then it was, in the depth of their security, in the dead of the night, that Belshazzar was slain, the city was taken, and Darius seized the kingdom. The Babylonians were destroyed in the midst of a debauch; in the height of their impiety they all went drunk to Hell, and their souls and bodies perish'd both together."

Then follows a glowing description of Judah's providential release from her captivity: "Hitherto she endur'd a long night of affliction, with some lightsome gleams only to refresh her: now God takes her up out of the dungeon, and brings her to open day: and He brings her out, without any of her own contrivance, or endeavour; without anything on her part, but repentance and patient submission; and on a sudden, to convince all the world it was His own work, it was the Lord, it was only the Lord, who at the expiration of 70 years, stirr'd up the spirit of Cyrus, to make that transporting, that surprising decree for building the Temple, and for the restoration of captive Judah. Then was she brought forth to the light in full splendour; the dawnings of which, all along, were to the faithful Israelites the solace of their captivity, and in all their cheerful intervals the subject of their songs; when they took down their harps from the willows,

and by the waters of Babylon ſtrove, with the deſcriptions of future Sion, to forget the paſt."

She ſaw herſelf happy, and her God moſt juſt, benign and merciful; and her happineſs being founded on affliction, ſhe reliſhed it the better; ſhe did the better taſte and ſee that the Lord was gracious; ſhe experimentally felt, and confeſs'd, and lov'd, and ador'd 'the righteouſneſs of God,' which made penitent, patient Judah not only victorious but triumphant. She rode in triumph over the once inſulting Babylon; in triumph, the moſt illuſtrious that ever was; in triumph, ſuch as the good angels kept above, at the defeat of Lucifer and his apoſtate ſpirits, when they ſaw the accurſed rebels falling headlong from Heaven, down to the place of endleſs torments, and heard them ſhrieking and howling all the way they fell; and the loyal hoſt, in the mean time, full of the mighty joys of victory, exulted in the juſt damnation of the rebellious legions, and ſang triumphant hymns to the Lord of Hoſts, by whoſe Arm they had been conquerors. For thus the faithful triumphed over Babylon: 'how art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, ſon of the morning!' So certain was the victory, ſo glorious was the triumph, with which penitent patient Judah was honour'd by God, who was her moſt tender advocate, to plead her cauſe; her moſt juſt avenger, to execute judgment for her; her moſt mighty deliverer, to bring her forth to the light; and her moſt indulgent patron, to make her behold His righteouſneſs."

His hearers could not but apply to the Romaniſts and Diſſenters this vivid deſcription of the Babylonians and Edomites, to whom God, in His juſt indig-

nation against Judah's sins, gave the power of a long oppression. Ken, however, did not mean the application to be made to them, other than as a warning to all classes, lest, indentifying themselves with such persecutors, they should partake of the judgments that were to follow. "Hitherto," he says, "I have only insisted on the case of Judah. And in making the application *(since we have not that happiness which Micah had, to have the King himself for our auditor, in whose royal candour a faithful preacher might be secure)* to prevent all misrepresentations, by which the most innocent discourse, and the very Scripture itself, may by insidious men be perverted, and charged with odious insinuations, I beseech you to observe that, as to Babylon, it lies in St. John's Visions under so many detestable characters; the Prophesies concerning it are so obscure, and the interpretations of them are so various, some of them so uncertain, some of them so forc'd, that I confess they are abstrusenesses, which I do not sufficiently understand, and therefore forbear particularly to apply.

"As to Edom: their father Esau is made, in the New Testament, the idea of a prophane person, of an apostate, of one hated by God, and of a reprobate: and God forbid I should bestow such names as these, on any one Communion of Christians whatsoever. But if we meet with any such in the world, who professing christianity in words, do so far deny it in their works, as to reach those characters which the scripture gives of Babylon and Edom; we are to deplore them, to pray to God to turn their hearts, and to warn all people to come out from thence, that they be not partakers of

their ſins, and that they receive not of their plagues. And whenever ſuch enemies as theſe attempt the ruin of God's Church, our Saviour has taught His followers how to encounter them. 'Love your enemies; bleſs them that curſe you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them which deſpitefully uſe you, and perſecute you.' St. John has taught all chriſtians how to overcome them; 'by the blood of the Lamb, by the word of their teſtimony, and by not loving their lives even unto death.' Judah has taught all the faithful how to weather out a captivity under them, by repentance and patient ſubmiſſion. And my deſign in this diſcourſe is, from penitent, patient, *Reform'd Judah*, to draw an example for the *Reform'd Church of England* to imitate, as far as their conditions may in any way agree." "In a word, I earneſtly exhort you to a uniform zeal for the REFORMATION, that as, bleſſed be God, you are happily reform'd in your Faith, and in your worſhip, you would become wholly reform'd in your lives. From ſuch a reformation as this, we may confidently hope for a bleſſing: and whatſoever enemies our Church may at any time have; ſhould they be as inſulting as the Babylonian, or as revengeful as the Edomite; nay ſhould they for a while be never ſo ſucceſsful, yet penitent, patient REFORM'D ENGLAND may then ſay with penitent, patient reform'd Judah; 'Rejoice not againſt me, O mine enemy: when I fall I ſhall riſe; when I ſit in darkneſs, the Lord ſhall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, becauſe I have ſinned againſt Him; until He plead my cauſe and execute judgment for me. He

will bring me forth to the light; and I shall behold His Righteousness."

The Court rang with comments on this memorable sermon: Ken had foretold, too truly, that he would be charged by "insidious men" with personally reproaching the King. The deep and tender concern he expressed for the Reformation, and his fervid calls to a holy dread and awe of the national sins, were so many emphatic reflections on the enemies of the public peace: they made "tragical relations" to the royal ear of these "necessary though severe truths." It appears from Hawkins's account that, "although many of his sermons were framed against the Church of Rome, the King so far entertained hopes of his absolute obedience to his will and pleasure, that it was thought worth while to attempt to gain him over to that party at court. But so ineffectually, that upon the preaching of this sermon in the King's own chapel at Whitehall (which seems wholly intended against both the Popish and Fanatic factions, then united at court) and it being misrepresented to the King, who had not been present at divine service, but sending for the Bishop, and closeting him on the occasion, received nothing in answer but this fatherly reprimand, '*that if His Majesty had not neglected his own duty of being present, his enemies had missed this opportunity of accusing him.*' Whereupon he was dismissed." *

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 18.

CHAPTER XIX.

The King's Declaration of Indulgence—Order of Council to have it read in all Churches—Petition of Archbishop Sancroft, Ken, and five other Bishops against the Order. They are sent to the Tower.

THE sermon at Whitehall must have been so obnoxious to the King, that Ken could hardly expect to escape with impunity. No doubt he was dismissed from the presence with strong expressions of resentment; most probably with some threat that means would be found to silence the Clergy, and bring them to obedience. Such indeed had been already determined on. For on the 28th of the same month the King made a fresh Declaration for liberty of conscience. This State paper is drawn with considerable skill. It sets out with an intimation that the King was resolved to be obeyed: "our conduct has been such at all times as ought to have persuaded the world that we are firm and constant in our resolutions: yet, that easy people may not be abus'd by the malice of crafty wicked men, we think fit to declare that our intentions are not changed." It states that it had been his principal care to secure the benefits of Indulgence to all his subjects, who had testified by multitudes of addresses their satisfaction and duty: that liberty of conscience would be a public be-

nefit to future ages, and for the general good of the whole kingdom: that offices and employments of the ſtate ought to be the reward of ſervices, fidelity and merit, not ſubject to Oaths and Teſts, as muſt be apparent to all who felt concerned in the encreaſe of the wealth and power of theſe kingdoms, which above all others are moſt capable of improvements, and of commanding the trade of the world: that the late changes both of civil and military officers were for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing the peace and greatneſs of the country, as all unbyaſs'd men might ſee by the condition of the fleet and armies, which ſhould be conſtantly the ſame, and greater, if the ſafety and honour of the nation required it: that he had been during the three years of his reign the Father of his people, not their oppreſſor: and it concludes by urging all to lay aſide private animoſities and jealouſies, and to chooſe ſuch members of Parliament as would do their parts for the advantage of the monarchy, promiſing to call them together in November next at fartheſt.

To give the fulleſt publicity to this Proclamation, and to ſhow that he was reſolved to carry out the meaſure, an order of Council was made on the 4th of May, directing the Biſhops to have it ſent to their reſpective Dioceſes, and read in every church and chapel throughout the kingdom. This order appears to have excited more ſurpriſe and oppoſition than the Declaration itſelf. Yet it was not ſo great a ſtretch of prerogative; for the authority of the crown to have its Proclamations read from the pulpit appears to have been, and ſtill is, recognized. It had been obeyed ſeveral times by San-

croft himſelf in the late reign;* and appears to be provided for in the Act of Uniformity, prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer. But in this caſe acquieſcence would have given the ſanction of the Clergy to an illegal act, which the Indulgence clearly was. The Biſhops at once perceived that it was not only levelled againſt the Church, but was intended to mortify them, and degrade them in the public eſteem: their concurrence would make them parties to an act that would be conſtrued into their ſanction of the Indulgence, and muſt have paved the way to further encroachments.

But more than this, and apart from all political conſiderations of prudence, and legal ſecurity, they thought that to publiſh during divine ſervice, what they conſcientiouſly believed to be a toleration of error, would be contrary to the intereſts of religion: to proclaim in the public aſſemblies of the Church the lawfulneſs of ſchiſm would in their judgment violate the principle of unity: to juſtify by an epiſcopal act the ſetting up of Papal and Preſbyterian worſhip againſt the altar of the true Church, would violate its ſanctity, and compromiſe their clear duty. Archbiſhop Sancroft, whoſe courage and zeal were equal to the emergency which now threatened the Church, was at once diſpoſed to make a ſtand: he held many conſultations with the Biſhops who were near at hand, and ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the London clergy, in order to aſcertain the general feeling. By their advice a circular was ſent to the abſent Prelates, inviting them to attend at Lambeth.

Ken, who had, as uſual, returned to his Dioceſe as

* Kenneth, Vol. iii. pp. 388, 408, and Echard.

soon as his duty in London had been performed, received the following letter from the Archbishop.

"My Lord,

THIS is only in my own name, and in the name of some of our Brethren, now here upon the place, earnestly to desire you, immediately upon the receipt of this letter, to come hither with what convenient speed you can, not taking notice to any that you are sent for. Wishing you a prosperous journey, and us all a happy meeting, I remain

Your very loving brother,

WILLIAM CANTUAR."

He came at once to London, and arrived on the evening of the 17th of May, with his friend Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol. On the following morning a general meeting was held at Lambeth Palace. They began by invoking the Divine aid to guide and influence their deliberations. Seldom, if ever, since the Reformation had there been a more critical moment for the Church of England: moderate counsels, combined with a collected energy of action, could alone avert the danger. The Bishops considered that they were entitled to offer advice to the Crown in all matters purely ecclesiastical.* In the present instance the exercise of their privilege was bound upon them by the duty they owed to their flocks; for the natural defenders of the honour and dignity of the Church, were now commanded to strike a blow against her dearest interests. They resolved, therefore, to make a humble appeal to the King by Petition,

* Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, Vol. i. p. 364.

couched in the moſt reſpectful terms of duty and attachment. They declared that in a matter of ſuch great moment and conſequence to the whole nation, they could not in prudence, honour, or conſcience ſo far make themſelves parties to His Majeſty's Declaration of indulgence, as to publiſh it in God's houſe, and in the time of divine ſervice; therefore they humbly and earneſtly beſought him not to inſiſt upon their doing ſo.

The Biſhops were unanimouſly agreed that they ſhould take on themſelves the excluſive reſponſibility of whatever might happen, ſo that others might be clear of an act which would, in all probability, expoſe them to the King's reſentment. The Petition was drawn up in the handwriting of the Archbiſhop, to ſecure the utmoſt ſecrecy, and was ſigned by himſelf and all the Biſhops preſent, except Compton, who had been ſuſpended. Theſe were

St. Aſaph - - Lloyd.	Chicheſter - Lake.
Ely - - - - Turner.	Briſtol - - Trelawney.
Bath and Wells - Ken.	Peterborough - White.

They had no time to loſe, as the Declaration was to be read in the London Churches the next day but one; ſo they reſolved immediately to preſent the paper in perſon to the King: but the Archbiſhop, being forbid to appear at Court, was not to accompany the other ſix.

It was a moment of deep and ſolemn intereſt, when theſe courageous men paſſed over the river in the Archbiſhop's barge from Lambeth to Whitehall. Only the meaſured ſound of the oars was heard: all around them was huſhed into ſilence; for it was now ten o'clock at night. The inhabitants of the town, unconſcious of

the impending ſtruggle for their deareſt rights, had gone to reſt. As they landed at Whitehall ſtairs, none were to be ſeen but the ſentinels at their poſt. The King, having been informed by Lord Sunderland that they requeſted an audience, gave orders that they ſhould be immediately admitted into his Cloſet. "He took them into the room within the bed chamber," where the Biſhop of St. Aſaph, with the reſt, all upon their knees, delivered the Petition.

The King at firſt received them graciouſly, and opening the Petition, ſaid, "This is my Lord of Canterbury's own hand." As ſoon, however, as he had read it over, he folded it up, and ſaid, "This is a great ſurprize to me: here are ſtrange words. I did not expect this from you. This is a ſtandard of rebellion."—His own account is that "The King was much ſtartled at this addreſs, and told them that tho' he had heard of their deſign, he did not believe it; nor did he expect ſuch uſage from the Church of England, eſpecially from ſome of the Petitioners; that he had the charity for moſt of them to think they were not ſenſible of the harme they did, him and themſelves, but that they had been impoſed upon by ill men, who deſigned his and their ruin; that it was a ſounding of Sheba's trumpet, and that the ſeditious preachings of the Puritans in the year '40 was not of ſo ill conſequence as this; that they had rais'd a devil they could not lay, and that when it was too late they would ſee their errour, and would be the firſt that would repent it."*

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* "Memoirs writ by his own hand." Clarke's Life of James II. Vol. i. p. 155.

The Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and ſome of the reſt, replied, that they had adventured their lives for His Majeſty, and would loſe the laſt drop of their blood, rather than lift up a finger againſt him.

The King. I tell you this is the ſtandard of rebellion. I never ſaw ſuch an addreſs.

Biſhop of Bath. Sir, I hope you will give that liberty to us, which you allow to all mankind.

The King, inſiſting upon the tendency of the Petition to rebellion, ſaid he would have his Declaration publiſhed.

Biſhop of Bath. We are bound to fear God, and honor the King. We deſire to do both: we will honor you; we muſt fear God.

The King. Is this what I have deſerved, who have ſupported the Church of England, and will ſupport it? I will remember you, that you have ſigned this paper. I will keep this paper; I will not part with it. I did not expect this from you. I will be obeyed in publiſhing my Declaration.

Biſhop of Bath. God's will be done.

The King. What's that?

Biſhop of Bath. God's will be done.—And ſo ſaid the Biſhop of Peterborough.

The King. If I think fit to alter my mind, I will ſend to you. God hath given me this diſpenſing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you there are 7000 men, and of the Church of England too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal.

And ſo they were diſmiſſed.

The few ſignificant words of Ken ought to have convinced James that nothing could ſhake the reſolu-

tion of men, who told him to his face that the fear of God was a higher duty than honour to kings. But he "gave a worſe interpretation to their reſiſtance, than that it was meerly ſcruple of conſcience: he thought that, finding the people diſpoſed to follow the cry they heard from the altar, and that they could whiſtle up the winds, they were reſolved to raiſe a ſtorm, though they ſeemingly pretended to lay it."* This motive was imputed to them by the bigotry of his counſellors, and by falſe friends, who urged him on to dangerous meaſures for the purpoſe of alienating from him the mind of the nation: "ſycophants," as he calls them, "who covered his eyes from the light." He ſays, himſelf, "according to human prudence his Majeſty had done better in not forcing ſome wheels, when he found the whole machine ſtop; but his too great attention to what he thought juſt and reaſonable hinder'd him from reflecting on what (to be ſure) had been more ſafe, as the caſe then ſtood; but it was the King's misfortune to give too much ear to the pernicious advice of thoſe who put him upon ſuch dangerous counſels, with intent (as was ſuſpected) to widen the breach, and therefore encouraged his perſiſting in thoſe ways, which he might have ſeen would not go down with the multitude." † What added to his pertinacity was the perſuaſion that nothing had proved more injurious to his brother, and eſpecially to his father Charles I. than their yielding temper; and as the Petition had only

* His own Memoirs. Clarke's Life of James 2nd, vol. ii. p. 156.
† Ibid.

been ſigned by ſeven of the Biſhops, he did not imagine the others would refuſe compliance.

The next morning the fact of the Biſhops having waited upon the King was ſpread abroad. As uſual, many verſions of the ſtory being given, great excitement prevailed in the town. There was a general feeling of ſympathy with the Prelates, whoſe conduct was highly applauded. They appeared venerable in the eyes of all men as brave champions of the Church. On the following Sunday, when the Declaration was read in a very few of the Churches, the people with one accord roſe from their ſeats. In the Abbey nobody could hear it for the great murmur which aroſe, and before it was finiſhed no one was left in the choir but a few prebendaries, the choriſters, and the Weſtminſter ſcholars. Within a few days, ſix more of the Biſhops, and many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed clergy, expreſſed to the Archbiſhop in writing their concurrence in the Petition.

The King now ſeemed in doubt what ſteps to take. The advice of the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, and other violent men, prevailed. On the 27th the Biſhops received notice to appear before the Council on the 8th of June, to anſwer for a miſdemeanour in publiſhing a libel on the King. The intermediate time was now ſpent in conſultations, among themſelves and friends, at Lambeth as to the courſe they ought to purſue. Lord Clarendon, in his Diary, ſays, "On the evening of the 5th of June the Biſhops of Ely and Bath and Wells, were with me: I adviſed them to conſult with the beſt lawyers how to behave themſelves at the Council board; that the time drew near; and that they ſhould not come unprepared to anſwer any queſ-

tions that might be asked them upon their Petition." "The next day, in the evening, the Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and St. Asaph, were with me, and desired to borrow some Parliamentary Journals, which they thought might be useful to them, and which I lent them." Again: "On the seventh, in the evening, the Bishops were with me, and told me they had taken advice with the best counsel, and hoped they should have good success to-morrow. I asked them if they had well considered what to do or say, in case they should be required to find bail for their further appearance (for such a thing was whispered) and found they had not, whereupon I earnestly pressed them to go this very evening, and advise with Sir Robert Sawyer, who could best instruct them what power the Council board now had; and so they left me, resolving to go presently to him." *

"On Friday, June 8th, at 5 in the afternoon, the King came to the Privy Council. About half an hour after, the Archbishop and the six Bishops, who were in attendance in the next room, were called into the Council Chamber, and graciously received by his Majesty. On being asked if the Petition was written and signed by his Grace, the Archbishop answered: "Sir, I am called hither as a criminal, which I never was before in my life; and little thought I ever should be, especially before your Majesty: but since it is my unhappiness to be so at this time, I hope your Majesty will not be offended that I am cautious of answering questions. No man is obliged to answer questions that

* Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii. p. 175.

may tend to the accuſing of himſelf." * "Thereupon they were ordered to withdraw; and being called in a ſecond time, they made the ſame anſwer to the ſame queſtion: but at the third coming in, the Chancellor preſſing them to own or diſown the paper, the Archbiſhop confeſſed that it was written with his own hand; and the reſt acknowledged that they had ſigned it, adding withal that they had done nothing but what they were ready to juſtify.† They were then aſked if any others were preſent at the framing of it. To which they anſwered: "It is our great infelicity that we are here as criminals; and your Majeſty is ſo juſt and generous, that you will not require us to accuſe either ourſelves or others."‡ "The Lord Chancellor fell into anger and reproaches, and pretended to endeavour to make them ſenſible of the ill conſequences of their diſobedience, which tended to diminiſh the King's authority, and to diſturb the peace of the kingdom; and then at laſt aſked them whether they would give their recognizances to appear before the Court of King's Bench to anſwer their high miſdemeanour? This they all refuſed to do, inſiſting on the privilege of their Peerage, which they were reſolved to maintain, as well as the rights of the Church; being equally bound by their callings to oppoſe all innovations, both in government and religion. This bold anſwer put the whole Council into ſome amazement; and the Chancellor Jefferies threatened to ſend them to the Tower, unleſs they did

* Doyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 275.

† Kennet, vol. 3, p. 511.

‡ Doyly, vol. i. p. 274.

immediately recant and withdraw their Petition. They unanimouſly anſwered, that they were ready to go whitherſoever his Majeſty would pleaſe to ſend them; they hoped the King of kings would be their protector and their judge: they feared nothing from men; for, having acted according to law and their own conſciences, no puniſhment ſhould ever be able to ſhake their reſolutions." *

They were urged again and again, then ordered to retire, and once more brought in before the Council. They promiſed to appear at any time to anſwer to the charge, but refuſed to give bail, inſiſting that there was no precedent for it, that any member of the Houſe of Peers ſhould be bound in recognizance for a miſdemeanour.† The laſt time they went in "they found the King vaniſh'd, and Jefferies in the chair, who uſed them very roughly."‡ They were ordered once more to withdraw. At laſt, being all reſolved, a Serjeant-at-Arms came out to them from the Council with a warrant ſigned with 14 hands, to carry the Prelates to the Tower, and another warrant ſigned by 19, and ſeals annexed, addreſſed to the Lieutenant of the Tower to keep them in ſafe cuſtody. At the ſame time an Order in Council was made, directing the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals to proſecute them.§

Whilſt this ſcene was acting within, the greateſt excitement prevailed amongſt the crowds of people who

* Kennett, vol. iii. p. 512.

† Doyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 285.

‡ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 763, On the authority of the Biſhop of Durham.

§ Doyly, vol. i. p. 285.

waited without the Palace. Theſe looked on the Biſhops as the great aſſertors of liberty, and martyrs for their religion. The many times they were recalled to the Council, and urged to give bail for their appearance, ſhowed how anxious the King was to avoid the extreme meaſure of ſending them to the Tower. In his memoirs, he imputes to them a deſire to force him to their impriſonment, and ſays he would have taken their word for their appearance,—but they refuſed: * whereas the Archbiſhop expreſſed their readineſs to appear, without recognizance, at any time they were called upon.† Some three years afterwards, in a letter to Lloyd of Norwich, complaining of a pamphlet of that day, which charged them with ſtanding on niceties, Sancroft ſays: "We profer'd ye K^g^ our words, as honeſt men, and Chriſtians, and Churchmen, to appear to his proſecution, whenever he ſhould aſſign us a day; but the Council inſiſted upon it that we ſhould enter a recognizance to that purpoſe; To which, when we anſwered that our counſell advis'd us (and indeed divers of ye Peers had alſo privately warn'd us) by no means to doe it, for that would be to betray ye privilege of ye peerage, and thereupon beſought the King y^t^ he would take our words, w^h^ he could not think we would falſify to noe purpoſe at all,—we were commanded to withdraw, and ſoon after a meſſenger came out with a warrant to carry us to ye Tower." ‡

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* Clarke's Life of James 2nd, vol. ii. p. 159.

† Doyly, vol. ii. p. 285.

‡ MSS. Collection of Letters in the poſſeſſion of Dr. Williams, Warden of New College, Oxford.

To prevent the tumult that might be occasioned by their passage to the Tower through the streets, they were ordered to be sent away by water. The populace finding out this project, went round to the river side, and testified by their acclamations the most lively interest in their fate, and even on their knees begged a parting blessing. The same concern was expressed, as the barge arrived at the Tower wharf. Here again a great crowd was assembled to receive them: they were no sooner landed than most of the officers and soldiers fell on their knees to beg their blessing.*

Hume gives a most graphic description of the scene: "The people were already aware of the danger to which the prelates were exposed; and were raised to the highest pitch of anxiety and attention with regard to the issue of this extraordinary affair. But when they beheld these fathers of the Church brought from Court under the custody of a guard, when they saw them embarked in vessels, on the river, and conveyed towards the Tower, all their affection for liberty, all their zeal for religion, blazed up at once; and they flew to behold this affecting spectacle. The whole shore was covered with crowds of prostrate spectators, who at once implored the blessing of those holy pastors, and addressed their petitions towards Heaven for protection during this extreme danger, to which their country and their religion stood exposed. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, flung themselves on their knees before the distressed prelates, and craved the benediction of those criminals whom they were ap-

* Kennett, vol. iii. p. 512.

pointed to guard. Some perſons ran into the water, that they might participate more nearly in thoſe bleſſings, which the prelates were diſtributing on all around them. The Biſhops themſelves, during this triumphant ſuffering, augmented the general favour by the moſt lowly ſubmiſſive deportment; and they ſtill exhorted the people to fear God, honour the King, and maintain their loyalty; expreſſions more animating than the moſt inflammatory ſpeeches. And no ſooner had they entered the precincts of the Tower than they hurried to chapel, in order to return thanks for thoſe afflictions, which Heaven, in defence of its holy cauſe, had thought them worthy to endure."*

The ſecond leſſon, appointed by the Calendar for that evening's ſervice, was ſo applicable to their circumſtances that it was looked upon by the people as providential, to ſuſtain their courage; being 2 Cor. vi. "We then as workers together with Him, beſeech you, &c. that in all things ye approve yourſelves as the Miniſters of God in much patience, in afflictions, in neceſſities, in diſtreſſes, in ſtripes, in impriſonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in faſtings," &c. &c. Theſe words, no doubt, imparted to the priſoners a higher aſſurance of ſupport than any ſympathy of the people. They had their conſolation from the ſame ſource as St. Paul and Silas, when they were thruſt into the inner priſon. On the next day but one, being Trinity Sunday, they all received the Holy Communion in the Tower Chapel.

The ſame State priſon had formerly witneſſed the

* Hume's Hiſtory, vol. ix. p. 449.

sufferings of Lady Jane Grey, intrepid Raleigh, and other victims of despotic power, whose names were still engraved on the walls. But to these prelates a deeper interest was imparted by the memory of Archbishop Laud, and of the ten Bishops, imprisoned there, near half a century before, by order of the Long Parliament. In 1641 the then Bishop of Bath was the victim of a Puritan democracy, that denounced him as "a Papal misleader, and altarian innovator:" and now his successor in the See was sent through the same "Traitor's Gate,"* charged as a promoter of sedition. One was imprisoned for signing a Petition to an intolerant House of Commons, the other for a Petition to an unjust tyrannical King: each in his day a sufferer for the same Church.

The Bishops were not left in solitude or neglect: they were allowed the freedom of the Tower within the walls, and their friends had leave to see them. Evelyn records his visit to the Archbishop and Ken. Lord Clarendon also went to call upon them, and found "multitudes of people going in and coming out." "Persons of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, flocked thither in crouds, to proffer their services, and condole with them in their sufferings; to express their gratitude and admiration, and to exhort them to firm perseverance in the course they had so nobly begun. Among the rest, ten non-conforming ministers went to pay them a visit, which the King

* "On through that *Gate misnam'd*, thro' which, before,
Went Sidney, Raleigh, Russell, Cranmer, More."

WORDSWORTH.

took ſo heinouſly that he ſent for four of them to reprimand them; but their anſwer was, that they could not but adhere to the priſoners, as men conſtant and firm to the Proteſtant Faith. The very ſoldiers that kept guard would frequently drink good health to the Biſhops. The conſtable ſent orders to the captain of the guard to ſee that it was done no more: but the anſwer he received was, that they were doing it at the very inſtant, and would drink that, and no other health, whilſt the Biſhops were there."*

A letter from Dr. Nalſon, written at the time, is very expreſſive of the general concern that was felt for them. "Our ſpiritual fathers," he ſays, "are under confinement: a trial of patience ſo great, that it were cruelty to expect we ſhould not bemoan ourſelves; but if it be a crime to lament, innumerable are the tranſgreſſors; for ever ſince the black Friday ſentence, the nobles of both ſexes keep their conſtant court at the Tower, where every day vaſt multitudes of all conditions run perpetually, all in tears, to beg the holy men's bleſſings: the ſouldiers wait as mourners, and become ſo devout, that though the ſcene be truly ſad, the end I hope will be the ſaving of many, and a glorious confirmation of the truth, and the ſacredneſs of our religion, which ſeems to be now brought on a public ſtage, that all the world may ſee more clearly her conformity to what the firſt confeſſors embraced, and recommended ſo very tenderly to mankind's care and affection. Thanks be to God, who gives us Paſtors that will not (nor by a criminal ſilence give

* Rereſby's Memoirs.

others encouragement to) lead us aſtray. I need not tell you how much this integrity of the Biſhops has ſerved to convince their cenſurers of raſh and uncharitable conceits, nor how ſenſible people grow of the fatal conſequences of weakening the eſtabliſhed Church by a humourſome dread of her ſeverity. I am willing to hope that the ſtorme that's grown ſo loud, and ſeems ſtill to denounce terrible things, will end in a glorious calme; it will do ſo to all that are wiſe and true of heart. To-morrow it's thought our illuſtrious confeſſors will be ſent for to Weſtminſter; they will not be ſolitaryes there." *

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* State Trials, vol. xii. p. 465.

CHAPTER XX.

Birth of a Prince of Wales — The Biſhops are releaſed from the Tower — Their trial for a Seditious Libel, and Acquittal — The Joy of the People — The Biſhops encourage their flocks to remain firm to the Church of England.

TWO days after the impriſonment of the Biſhops, an event occurred that filled the Palace with joy, but ſtruck diſmay into the hearts of the people ;—the birth of a Prince of Wales. This cauſed the King's party to triumph in the proſpect of a Romiſh ſucceſſion, — on the other hand it knit in cloſer bonds the whole energies of the country to reject the perpetuating a Popiſh rule. The authenticity of the birth was diſbelieved : it was treated as an impoſture — another Popiſh Plot. — The moſt abſurd ſtories were propagated to prove the child ſuppoſititious. The King was exaſperated at ſo vile an accuſation, reflecting diſhonour on himſelf and the Queen. He calls it " a deteſtable calumny, of their having put a ſuppoſed Prince on the nation." Thus an event that generally cements the allegiance of ſubjects, widened ſtill further the breach between himſelf and his people. Coming at ſuch a moment, it increaſed the general alarm for the ſafety of their religion. The Biſhops were more than ever regarded as heroic martyrs for the truth of the Proteſtant Faith. " The whole Church," writes d'Adda, the Pope's Nuncio, " eſpouſes the cauſe of the

Biſhops. There is no reaſonable expectation of a diviſion amongſt the Anglicans, and our hopes from the Nonconformiſts are vaniſhed."* James in his memoirs ſays, " the birth of the Prince, as it was an argument of the greateſt joy to the King and Queen, and to all thoſe who wiſhed them well, ſo it gave the greateſt agonys imaginable to the generality of the kingdom."†

The nation indeed was rouſed, almoſt as one man, to a ſenſe of the danger that now threatened their common liberties: even the Diſſenters perceived the King's real object to be a toleration of Romaniſm. How indeed could they expect a permanent indulgence for themſelves, when a conſcientious and humble petition from the Biſhops, praying to be excuſed from an illegal act, drawn up with ſuch ſecrecy that no copy was allowed to be taken in any writing but the Archbiſhop's, and delivered into the King's own hand, in the royal cloſet at night, and on their knees, was denounced as the publication of a ſeditious libel? What ſecurity could there be for others, if in the perſons of theſe Prelates the privileges of Peers, and the ſanctity of the higheſt religious order, were publicly violated? James expreſſes great bitterneſs againſt the Diſſenters for ſo ſoon turning againſt him after the Declaration of Indulgence, and adopting the belief that " all the mitigations to them were only for the ſake of the Papiſts. They ſoon therefore join'd hands and voices with the Church of England partie, ſo far at leaſt as to rail againſt the Church of Rome, and talk of nothing but

* Mackintoſh's Hiſtory, p. 253.

† Clarke's Life, vol. ii. p. 161.

fire and fagot, as if Smithfield had been all in a blaze. This might be catalogued amongſt their other thankfull returns for the King's ſnatching them out of the fire, and looſing his credit with the Church partie, for haveing gather'd thoſe Vipers from the dunghill where the laws had lay'd them; and cheriſhing them in his boſome till they ſtung him with reproaches, as falſe as they were vilanous and ungrateful." *

The other meaſures of the King, his appointment of a Roman Catholic Council, filling the army with Popiſh officers, annulling the Charters of corporate cities, eſtabliſhing the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, forcibly invading the rights of the Univerſities, his arbitrary and cruel meaſures in Ireland, all ſeemed of minor importance to this laſt act of violence on men of ſo holy a character, and now ſuſtaining the part of patient, humble, loyal ſufferers in the cauſe of truth.

James and his adviſers began ſeriouſly to apprehend the conſequences of their precipitancy: even Jefferies affected to deplore the preſent criſis, charging it on his maſter's determined will, and expreſſing a hope that more moderate counſels would prevail. He ſent an obliging meſſage to the Biſhops in the Tower. Sunderland, who all this while, under cloak of devotion to the King, was conſiſtently following out his real purpoſe of rendering his maſter odious to the people, diſclaimed any ſhare in the meaſure. But a judicial blindneſs had come over the King. At one moment he ſeemed willing to change his policy, at another to fear retracing one ſtep; — urged forward by the Je-

* His own Memoirs. Clarke's Life of James II. vol. ii. p. 170.

ſuits, he thought any thing better than to falter, and ſo plunged deeper into the maze, in which he had entangled himſelf.

The Biſhops remained a week in the Tower: during that time their friends, and counſel, were actively engaged in preparing for their defence. On the 15th of June they were brought by water to the Court of King's Bench at Weſtminſter, to plead to a charge of high miſdemeanour againſt the King's authority. The river on both ſides was lined by ſpectators, greeting them with acclamations, and on their landing, the people made a lane for them to paſs through to the Palace Yard, begging their benedictions as before, and thinking it a happineſs to kiſs their hands, or their robes. The Nuncio who was a witneſs of the ſcene deſcribes "the immenſe concourſe of people who received them on the bank of the river, the majority in their immediate neighbourhood were on their knees. The Archbiſhop laid his hands on the heads of ſuch as he could reach, exhorting them to continue ſtedfaſt in their faith; they cried aloud that all ſhould kneel, while tears flowed from the eyes of many." *

Being brought into the Court, they were each called upon to plead to the indictment, which they did ſeverally.

Clerk. My Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury, is your Grace Guilty of the matter charged againſt you in the indictment, or not Guilty?

Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Not Guilty.

Clerk. My Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells, is your

* Mackintoſh's Hiſtory, p. 262.

Lordſhip Guilty of the matter charged againſt you in the information, or not Guilty?

Biſhop of Bath. Not Guilty.

And ſo with the other five.

A fortnight was given them to prepare for trial. The Attorney General was inſtructed to diſpenſe with bail, taking credit for not wiſhing to inſiſt on anything that ſhould look like hardſhip. They were accordingly ſet at liberty, on their own recognizance to appear again in Court on the 29th, and "ſo were diſmiſſed to lie in their own beds that night."* Such was the univerſal joy at ſeeing the Biſhops releaſed, that they could ſcarcely eſcape from the crowd who followed them with continued ſhouts. "When the Archbiſhop arrived at Lambeth, the Grenadiers of Lord Lichfield's regiment, though poſted there by his enemies, received him with military honours, made a lane for his paſſage from the river to his palace, and fell on their knees to aſk his bleſſing." Ken probably accompanied the Archbiſhop, as he certainly did afterwards, when the trial was over, for he was ſtaying at Lambeth Rectory with his friend Hooper.† The Biſhop of St. Aſaph, detained in the Palace Yard by a multitude, who kiſſed his hands and garments, was delivered from their importunate kindneſs by Lord Clarendon, who taking him into his carriage, found it neceſſary to make a circuit through the park to eſcape from the bodies of people by whom the ſtreets were obſtructed.‡ At night the public rejoicings were continued, bonfires

* Ellis's Correſpondence, vol. i. p. 350. † Prouſe's MSS.
‡ Clarendon's Diary.

were made in the ſtreets, and the health of the ſeven heroic Biſhops was drunk with enthuſiaſtic joy.*

As the day of trial approached the anxiety of the Court, and the intereſt of the people, deepened in intenſity. The more moderate of the King's adviſers urged him to make the birth of a young Prince of Wales the pretext for a general pardon, to include alſo the Biſhops. Had he followed their advice, it might have allayed the popular excitement, and have prevented the conſequences that followed. "He was at one time reſolved to let the buſineſs fall, and not to proceed againſt them: but ſome men would hurry the King to his deſtruction." † He faultered only for a moment: a laſt faint gleam of wiſdom flickered on his path; but every conſideration yielded to his earneſt deſire for a verdict againſt them, which, if gained, would only have increaſed his difficulties. The puniſhment of the Biſhops by heavy fines, impriſonment and deprivation, or ſuſpenſion, would have aggravated ſtill more the public mind, and alienated even theſe faithful counſellors, to whom he afterwards reſorted in the extremity of his fortunes. He might have borrowed from their loyalty and peaceful demeanour an example of moderation, that would even now have conciliated his people. But not being ſuſceptible of a lenient judgment of other men's conſciences, a hard inflexibility of purpoſe prevailed to his own undoing. He had recourſe to every expedient which might ſecure

* Doyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 288.

† His own Memoirs. Clarke's Life of James II.

the condemnation of the Biſhops. Sir Samuel Aſtrey, who was to ſtrike the jury, had the King's perſonal inſtructions how to manage it: Sir Robert Clarke, and the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, were buſy in the matter. Lord Dartmouth was ſent to the Biſhop of Ely, to perſuade him to make application to the King, —but in vain; he was "very ſteady," and would not detach himſelf from his brethren.

On the 29th of June, the day appointed for the trial, the Biſhops, attended by thirty-five Lords, and a concourſe of other friends, took their ſeats in Weſtminſter Hall. The Court was thronged with a multitude of anxious ſpectators: every eye ſeemed rivetted on theſe ſtedfaſt aſſerters of the Church's rights, as they ſat in front of the Bench, conſcious of their innocence, cheered by an univerſal ſympathy, and prepared to incur any penalty that might be inflicted upon them in the cauſe of truth. The Judges had already declared the King's prerogative to be above all law. One of them was a Roman Catholic, and the Lord Chief Juſtice a creature of the Court. But at every ſtage of the trial, which laſted ten hours, whenever the Crown lawyers failed of their proof, or any other circumſtance occurred advantageous to the priſoners, the Court reſounded with a ſhout of laughter, or an exclamation of joy, from the crowded audience, which all the menaces of the Judge could not repreſs.

The trial ended at ſeven o'clock in the evening, when the jury retired to conſider their verdict. Three loud cheers were given for the Biſhops, who retired with all the privacy they could to their houſes; but

wherever the people met with them, "they huzza'd and humm'd them in great abundance."*

One of their friends wrote a note to the Archbishop, dated 6 o'clock the next morning, before the Court opened; he says, "We have watched the jury all night, carefully attending without the door, on the stair head. They have, by order, been kept all night without fire or candle, bread, drink, tobacco, or any other refreshment whatever, save only some basons of water and towels this morning about 4. The officers, and our own servants, and others hired by us to watch the officers, have and shall constantly attend, but must be supplied with fresh men to relieve our guards, if need be. I am informed by my servant that about midnight they were very loud one among another: and the like happened about three this morning; which makes me collect they are not yet agreed: they beg a candle to light their pipes, but are denied." In a postscript he says, "just now the officer brings me word they are all agreed, and are sending to my Lord Chief Justice to know when he pleases to take their verdict."†

At ten o'clock the Bishops, attended as before, and the Judges, took their seats in Court to hear the all-important verdict. It is impossible to describe the keen interest that held all parties in breathless suspense, as the crier called over the names of the jury. The cause not of the Bishops only, but of the nation, seemed to hang on the next few minutes: the safety of the Reformed religion,—the vitality of the law—the very ex-

* State Trials, vol. xii. p. 478.

† Gutch's Collect. Curiosa, Vol. i. p. 374.

iſtence of liberty were, perhaps, involved in the reſult. The Prelates in a ſimple and thoughtful collectedneſs of mind, the objects of an intenſe ſolicitude, the Judges, and other dependents of the Court, the Counſel, and the multitude of ſpectators,—were huſhed into ſilence.

Sir Samuel Aſtrey. Gentlemen, are you agreed on your verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Sir Samuel Aſtrey. Who ſhall ſay for you?

Jury. Our foreman.

Sir Samuel Aſtrey. Do you find the Defendants or any of them Guilty of the miſdemeanour, whereof they are impeached, or not Guilty?

Foreman. NOT—GUILTY.

The firſt word was enough;—the laſt was almoſt drowned in a tumultuous and eager burſt of irrepreſſible triumph:—"there was a moſt wonderful ſhout, that one would have thought the Hall had crack'd."* "Not Guilty! Not Guilty"! reſounded from ſide to ſide, with loud and long huzzas, which were re-echoed from without. "It paſſed with electrical rapidity from voice to voice along the infinite multitude who waited in the ſtreets. It reached the Temple in a few minutes. For a ſhort time no man ſeemed to know where he was. No buſineſs was done for hours. The Solicitor General informed Lord Sunderland, in the preſence of the Nuncio, that never within the remembrance of man had there been heard ſuch cries of applauſe, mingled with tears of joy."† "The acclamations," ſays Sir John Rereſby, "were a very rebellion in noiſe."

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* Lord Clarendon, Vol. ii. p. 179.

† Mackintoſh, p. 275.

James in his Memoirs, relates that "as ſoon as the Verdict of Acquittal was given, there were ſuch prodigious acclamations of joy, as ſeemed to ſet the King's authority at defiance: it ſpread itſelf not only into the City, but even to Hounſlo Heath, where the ſoldiers, upon the news of it, gave up a great ſhout, though the King was then actually at dinner in the Camp; which ſurpriſed him extreamly, nôt on account of the Biſhops' acquittal,—but what gave his Majeſty great diſquiet was to ſee ſuch induſtry uſed to inflame the multitude, and ſet the people's heart againſt him, and that this infection had ſpread itſelf even amongſt thoſe, from whom he expected his chief ſecurity." Startled at the acclamations of the army, he ſent Lord Feverſham out to know what was the matter. The Earl came back, and told the King It was nothing but the ſoldiers ſhouting upon the news of the Biſhops being acquitted. The King replied "And do you call that nothing? but ſo much the worſe for them." *

The jury were received with the loudeſt applauſe; hundreds, with tears in their eyes, embraced them as deliverers. The Biſhops eſcaped from the huzzas of the people as privately as poſſible, and exhorted them to fear God and honour the King. "Ken came with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his Coach to Lambeth, over London Bridge and through Southwark, which took them up ſeveral hours, as the concourſe of the people were innumerable, the whole way hanging upon the Coach, and inſiſting on the being bleſſed by thoſe two Prelates, who with much difficulty and pa-

* His own Memoirs. Clarke's Life of James II. Vol ii. p. 163.

tience at laſt got to Lambeth Houſe."* James accuſes the Biſhops of "heightening the diſcontent by all their little artifices to render his intentions ſuſpected: for as they went through Weſtminſter Hall, the people falling on their knees in mighty crowds to aſke their bleſſing, they cry'd out to them 'Keep your religion.'" †

It had been well for him if he could more truly have appreciated their motives, or more clearly have traced to their cauſe theſe tokens of ſympathy between the Biſhops and the people,—an affection for their common religion. But all his meaſures proclaimed that he was no longer his own maſter. The treacherous or fanatical counſellors to whom his confidence was given, maintained him in the ſame extravagant expectations, the ſame unyielding ſpirit, and a more entire belief that conciliation after defeat would compromiſe his authority. He had a ſtanding army of 30,000 men to overawe the Kingdom:—this in his opinion was a ſtronger bulwark than the hearts of his people.

The rejoicings in London and the neighbourhood continued for ſome days—medals were ſtruck to commemorate the happy event, and portraits of the Biſhops were multiplied through the town. As the news ſpread into the country the ringing of bells and bonfires proclaimed a jubilee, eſpecially in the Cathedral, and other large, towns. One of the abſent Prelates thus writes to the Archbiſhop.

"Norwich, 2nd July, 1688.

"May it pleaſe your Grace

"To give me leave, *among the thouſands in theſe parts,*

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* Prouſe MSS.

† His own Memoirs. Clarke's Life of James II. Vol. ii. p. 164.

heartily to congratulate with you, and your late companions in trouble, for the most joyful and most acceptable news we had this day by the post; namely, your acquittal from the crime endeavoured to be fixed upon you. I do assure your Grace it hath mightily revived our drooping spirits; and I beseech God to make us all truly sensible of, and sincerely thankful for so great a mercy. I know your Grace hath now work enough upon your hands; and therefore it would be the greatest impertinency to interrupt you in those great affairs: wherefore I heartily bless God for your safety, and thereby for His great and singular mercies, vouchsafed to His Church, and am, as in duty bound,

"Your Grace's
Most obedient Servant to command,
WILLIAM NORWICH."*

Another letter to the Archbishop from Scotland says, "It will doubtless be strange news to hear that the Bishops of England are in great veneration amongst the Presbyterians of Scotland, and I am glad that reason has retained so much of its old empire amongst them. But I hope it will be no news to your Grace to hear that no man was more concerned in the safetie of your consciences and persons, than

"May it please your Grace,
Your Grace's most humble servant,
GEO. MACKENZIE."†

What then must have been the joy at Bath,—and still more amongst the people at Wells, to know that

* Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, Vol. i. p. 383.
† Ibid.

their cheerful and loving Biſhop, ſo juſtly dear to them all, was to be reſtored to his paſtoral rule? They who had partaken of his charity, and liſtened to his teaching, and ſuffered ſo much at his impriſonment, and thought to have loſt him, were now relieved of their anxious forebodings. Above all an univerſal releaſe was, in this great event, proclaimed to the anxious clergy. Their own liberty of action, the very exiſtence of the Anglican Church, ſeemed to depend on the iſſue of the conteſt in Weſtminſter Hall. The battle had been fought for them, and won. It was natural that they ſhould thankfully reſpond to the note of triumph, which reached them from the capital.

Well might the Biſhop of Norwich anticipate that Sancroft had "enough work on his hands." Whilſt James was laviſhing all his attentions on the army at Hounſlow, the Archbiſhop and his Brethren prepared to reſiſt with other arms. The King's angry and haughty bearing, and the threats of his bigoted adviſers, fortold a greater criſis yet to come. Their courage prompted them to more energetic meaſures for the ſafety of the Church, now that his hoſtility and violence were ſo openly brought out to view. The ſacred truſt, committed to their keeping, was yet more endeared to them, in proportion to the difficulties that ſeemed gathering round. All the proceedings of the King indicated that their Trial was but the prelude to a more extended plan for uprooting the national faith. The progreſs of Tyrconnel in Ireland, Sunderland's lately avowed converſion to Romaniſm, the undiſguiſed joy of the Jeſuits at the birth of a Prince, to be brought up in their tenets, the continued appointment of Popiſh officers to

the army, were evidences of this. Again the prolonged vacancy of several English and Irish sees, especially that of York, supposed to be kept open for Father Petre, with other encroachments of the same nature, were decisive proofs of the fixed purpose of James and his Council.

Sancroft, therefore, at once set himself to draw up twelve articles of instruction, or "Heads of things to be more fully insisted upon by the Bishops, in their addresses to the Clergy, and people of their respective dioceses."* Amongst other exhortations the Clergy were called upon to use their utmost endeavour both in their sermons, and by private applications to prevail with such of their flocks as were of competent age, to receive frequently the Holy Communion. They were in their sermons to inform the people (four times a year at the least, as the Canon requires) that all usurped and foreign judisdiction was, for most just causes, taken away and abolished in the realm,—and no manner of obedience or submission was due to any that pretended to act by virtue of it: but on all occasions to persuade the people to loyalty and obedience to his Majesty *in all things lawful, and to patient submission in the rest.* They were to maintain a fair correspondence, full of the kindest respects, with the gentry and persons of quality in their neighbourhood,—to exhort all to stedfastness in their most Holy Faith, and constancy to their profession,—to take heed to all seducers, *and especially Popish emissaries,* who are now in great numbers gone forth amongst the people, and more busy and active than ever.

* State Trials, Vol. xii. p. 480.

"And forasmuch as those Popish emissaries, like the old Serpent, are wont to be most busy and troublesome to our people in time of sickness, and the hour of death, the clergy are to be especially vigilant to comfort the sick in their sorrows and sufferings, praying often with them and for them, and preparing them for the Holy Eucharist, the pledge of their happy Resurrection: thus with their utmost diligence watching over every sheep within their fold, lest those evening wolves devour them."

They were also to "walk in wisdom towards all those not of our Communion, conferring with them in the spirit of meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to win them over: more especially that they have a very tender regard to our Brethren, the Protestant Dissenters; that, upon occasion offered, they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, discoursing calmly and civilly with them." That they take all opportunities of assuring and convincing them that *the Bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the Church of Rome:* and that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of Peace for an universal blessed union of all Reformed Churches, both at home and abroad, against our common enemies; that all they who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of his holy word, may also meet in one holy Communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love."

If the Bishops were imprisoned for joining in a humble petition to the King to be excused reading the De-

claration of Indulgence, what punishment might they not expect for publishing these Articles, openly denouncing the Popish Emissaries as 'Evening Wolves,' and the Romish Church, as 'the common enemy,' 'full of errors, superstitions, idolatries and tyrannies!' The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with Jefferies at their head, were still thundering forth their orders to have the Declaration read, and threatening with heavy penalties all who neglected. But whilst they claimed from their clergy a dutiful obedience to the King '*in all things lawful*,' no Court of Inquisition could silence their remonstrances against the usurped authority of Rome.

It was no sudden, irregular fervour, kindled by a recent triumph, that prompted them to make a stand. We have seen how, within the King's chapel, almost within his hearing Ken had "with wonderful eloquence described the blasphemies, perfidy, wresting of Scripture, superstition and legends of the Romish Priests, and their new Trent religion." But now he was called to act as well as preach in proof of his uncompromising fidelity to the Church of England.

The Pope had appointed four Romish Bishops, who styled themselves Vicars Apostolical. They made their circuits through the country, dividing England into four Provinces, according to printed maps, and exercising an open ecclesiastical jurisdiction, similar to that of the English Bishops. They had published an address to the lay Roman Catholics, with the title of a Pastoral Letter, in which they claimed spiritual authority over the nation. It seems scarcely credible that the King's advisers should have precipitated a measure of this kind; — a measure futile in itself, and tending

to bring his Government into contempt, becauſe of the very few perſons who profeſſed the Roman faith, —yet ſo open an infringement of the law as to excite the greateſt alarm.

James in his Memoirs admits that even the reception of a Nuncio from Rome was an error of judgment. "It proved," he ſays, "one of the firſt ſtumbling blocks: it was His Majeſty's misfortune to think that a Pope's Nuncio would render people leſs averſe to ſuffer the exerciſe of Catholic religion amongſt them, by familiarizing the nation, not only to the ceremonies of the Church of Rome, but the Court of Rome too; this made his Majeſty, beſides the ſolemn ſervices he had in his own chapel, permit the Monks in St. James's to wear their habits, and admit a Nuncio from the Pope, according to the formes practiſed in the moſt Catholick Countrys."* It had been well for him if, even at this late period, he had receded from the perilous conteſt before him, and returned within the bounds of his prerogative. But he ventured ſtill deeper into hazardous meaſures, whoſe only certain reſult was the entire alienation of his people, at a moment when a ſecret and extenſive plot was maturing to bring over a foreign Prince, and to wreſt from him his crown and kingdom.

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* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 116.

CHAPTER XXI.

Invasion of England by the Prince of Orange — Measures of the King to oppose him—Ken and other Bishops advise James to call a Parliament — He refuses: the desertion of his officers: he withdraws to France—William calls a Convention Parliament.

AMIDST all this confusion there was one who kept a steady watch on every turn of the King's wayward policy—his nephew, and son in law, the Prince of Orange. Until the birth of a Prince of Wales, which now prompted him to a forward movement, William had been content to wait till the natural course of events should realize his claims to the chief controul in England. He had engaged in no violent cabals, which might endanger his interests with the King: but, holding a wary intercourse with such of the English nobility as were disaffected, he knew all that was passing, and the exact temper of the people. In this he followed the advice of Lord Hallifax, "to stand firm and quiet, neither to yield, nor to give advantage by acting unseasonably." "Accidents come," said that intelligent counsellor, "which either relieve, or at least help to keep off for a longer time, the things we fear; and that is no small matter in the affairs of the world."*

* Dalrymple Appendix, p. 186.

Each well conſidered ſtep of William was marked by the ſame adroitneſs, which had diſtinguiſhed him from his youth. We have ſeen how his good ſenſe, ſobriety of judgment, immoveable calmneſs of temper, and untiring perſeverance, had conducted him through a complicated path of policy to be leader of a great European confederacy. Although chief of a Preſbyterian Republic, and of the Proteſtant cauſe in Europe, he had been able to perſuade the Emperor of Germany, King of Spain, and other Roman Catholic Princes,—and even the Pope himſelf,—to combine with him for their common defence againſt the ambitious deſigns of Catholic France. This project took effect in the League of Augſburg.* By the exerciſe of the ſame addreſs he now brought the various parties in England to regard him as the diſintereſted champion of their liberties, and the protector of their religion.

The birth of the Prince of Wales, which might exclude all hope of his wife's ſucceſſion, was the ſignal to him for more deciſive interference in Engliſh politics. His ſchemes were conducted under cover of the national ferment on the trial of the Biſhops. The clandeſtine correſpondence, which he had for ſome time maintained with the popular leaders, now aſſumed a more definite character. Amid the joyful peals that ſhook the village ſteeples, and the blaze of bonfires lighting up the hills throughout England, they planned the downfall of James. The well-known letter of invitation to William, to come over with an armed force, was dated the very day the Biſhops were ac-

* In 1687.

quitted: it was a voice more ominous to the King, because more secret, than the shouts of his army on Hounslow Heath.

William's two great projects, to curb the power of Louis XIV. and to depose James, so far from clashing, mutually aided each other. Under pretence of promoting the objects of the League against France, he was able to bring together extensive naval and military forces for the invasion of England. Meanwhile he disclaimed all hostile thoughts against his father in law, professing towards him profound respect, and that he "wished passionately for occasions to testify his attachment to his interests,"* — when, in fact, his measures for dethroning him were silently nearing their accomplishment. The confederate powers, forming the League of Augsburg, were sensible how greatly it would aid their cause, if he should gain the ascendant in England. They did not believe that he aspired to the crown. He was able to conceal this cherished object under the guise of zeal for the common cause of Europe. On the eve of his coming to England, he wrote to the Emperor, that he "had not the least intention to do any hurt to his Britannic Majesty, or to those who have a right to pretend to the succession of his kingdoms; and still less to make an attempt upon the crown, or to desire to appropriate it to himself."† "He had the peculiar felicity, from the state of public affairs, to make his restless temper, and unbounded ambition, seem purely the result of necessity, and not of choice: the glorious pretensions of restoring the

* Dalrymple Appendix, p. 185. † Ibid. p. 256.

balance of Europe, and the invaded liberties of oppreſſed nations, gave at leaſt a beautiful varniſh to all his undertakings." *

Louis, who penetrated theſe deſigns, had conſtantly and emphatically warned James of his danger; and offered to help him with 40,000 men, and a large ſum of money, if he would act vigorouſly in his own defence: for he knew that William's ſucceſs would turn the whole force of England againſt himſelf. James dallied with this offer; — he would, and yet he would not, accept: he was reſtrained, partly by an ill-timed Engliſh pride, and partly by a miſtruſt of his French ally. It would have been more to his honour, if his pride and miſgivings had prompted him conſtantly to reject the aid of Louis: but he had long ſince condeſcended to receive ſupplies of money from the French King, and even urgently to entreat their payment, when in arrear.† Had he followed the advice of Louis with deciſion, he would have defeated the conſpiracy, now formed againſt him, though he might have encountered an almoſt equal danger from the admiſſion of a French army into the heart of his kingdom. But, as the notion of an alliance with France was diſtaſteful to the Engliſh, he feared the prejudices it might excite, and diſavowed the exiſtence of any treaty, when it was charged upon him;—yet he was not believed. ‡ Thus halting between two difficulties, he choſe the greater.

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* Echard's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 878.

† Dalrymple Appendix, pp. 103, 146.

‡ Letter of Louis XIV. to Barillon. Dalrymple Appendix. p. 296.

Moreover, he was lulled into a fatal ſecurity by reliance on his own prerogatives, and his large ſtanding army: nor could he bring himſelf to believe that his daughter, and her huſband, really intended to deprive him of his crown. Lord Sunderland, and others, accompliſhed in the arts of perfidious intrigue, betrayed his meaſures to the enemy. The further they advanced in their ſcheme of the Prince's invaſion, the more confidently they ridiculed the idea that any ſuch exiſted.*

The Revolution of 1688 has been miſ-called "*glorious.*" Doubtleſs, it ſaved the country from a Popiſh domination; and eſtabliſhed conſtitutional principles, on which the complex intereſts of the State have been moulded into their preſent admirable form of government. But the immediate means and inſtruments, which brought it about, were ſordid and inglorious.

Looking at the actors in this great drama of the Revolution, we have,—on the one hand a king, ſuch as James's own acts have declared him,—on the other his neareſt relatives,—ſons in law profeſſing towards him a devoted allegiance, daughters bound to him by every tie of filial gratitude, truſted counſellors ſworn to uphold his power, nobles and commanders paying him obſequious court,—friends loaded by him with benefits,—all combining to thruſt him from his throne, and transfer their allegiance to another. If this be glorious to England, unſwerving juſtice and unſullied honour may be no more recognized in the dealings of man with man:—let the law of a heartleſs ſelfiſhneſs, that "the end will juſtify the means," be the adopted motto of politicians.

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* Dalrymple Appendix, p. 283.

But this cannot be:—there are principles implanted in our nature, which reſpond to all that is noble and truthful in conduct, and aſſent to the condemnation of meanneſs and treachery. However, in the confuſed ſtruggle of intereſts, men are, for a moment, blinded to a ſenſe of truth and right, theſe are the ſtandard by which all actions muſt be eventually tried at the bar of even human judgment.

And now abundantly appeared the bitter fruit of a previous ſinful reign. Three years ſince, and Charles had been cut off in the midſt of his revels: but the influence of his profligate example outlived him. In baniſhing from his court the principles of virtue, the only ſure bond of a nation's permanent welfare, he had undermined his brother's throne:—a wholeſome warning to Rulers, if they will profit by it. The moral habit of the nobility was lowered; the manly virtues that give ſtrength to a kingdom had deſerted the precincts of the palace. Bribery, intrigue, gaming, ſenſuality, ſpread their corrupting influence over all within its ſphere. When princes are profligate, unbelieving, unſcrupulous, they reproduce their own vices in their attendants. So long as they have gifts to beſtow, or power to controul, they are ſerved with a languid and ſelfiſh allegiance: no ſooner is their fortune on the wane, than the corrupt minions of their favour are the firſt to ſeek another maſter. James eſtimated the faithfulneſs of thoſe around him by the ſtandard of ſubſerviency to his own will: to this he won or forced them by all the allurements, or compulſions, within the power of a King. He might have known that, juſt in the meaſure of their readineſs to ſacrifice principle to

ſelf-aggrandizement, his courtiers would be willing, on occaſion, to betray his intereſts.

Towards the end of September, James was brought to a full ſenſe of the danger which threatened him. Louis ſent him certain intelligence that the Dutch Miniſter, being preſſed to avow the real objects of the Prince of Orange in collecting ſo great a naval and military force, had acknowledged to the French Ambaſſador at the Hague that it was deſigned againſt England; and further, that ſeveral Engliſh Lords and gentlemen had croſſed the ſea, and lay privately in Holland, ready to accompany him in his expedition. On reading this letter the King turned pale, and for a while remained ſpeechleſs. One of his courtiers ſuggeſting that the Prince might ſtill be diverted from his intention, or be defeated in the attempt, he anſwered, "I know my ſon in law's character ſo well, that if he undertakes any deſign, he will go through with it; he will never be diverted, and may hardly be defeated."*

James's perſonal courage was unqueſtionable: he had, in early life, ſerved with honour under Turenne, who had a great eſteem for him; and again in the Spaniſh army before Dunkirk. In 1665 he ſhowed great calmneſs and intrepidity in his naval engagements with the Dutch, expoſing his perſon in the thickeſt of the fights; and he now prepared himſelf with ſpirit to meet the invading force. It was not until he ſaw himſelf deſerted by the great majority of his officers, and of the nation, that he loſt his preſence of mind. Urged now by neceſſity, he proclaimed an

* Echard's Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 140.

order for the meeting of Parliament (which had only ſat eleven days in the laſt three years) and avowed his purpoſe, not very ſincere, we may believe, to maintain the Church of England. He declared his willingneſs that Roman Catholics ſhould remain incapable of being elected to the Houſe of Commons. Had he kept to his pledge of a Parliament, his perſon, and the ſucceſſion of his rightful heirs, if educated in the Anglican faith, would have been held ſacred. The nation had not yet forgotten the miſeries of the former rebellion: men feared nothing ſo much as another civil ſtruggle. Whatever had been the King's errors, the people at large had not ſuffered in perſon, or property, by his arbitrary proceedings: the ſentiments of loyalty, and attachment to the throne, are deeply implanted in the minds of Engliſhmen.

It was equally certain, however, that a Parliament would not only declare againſt his power to diſpenſe with the laws, but would curb his prerogative within the wholeſome limits of the conſtitution. It would confirm the excluſion of Romaniſts from any ſtate employment, and eſpecially provide againſt a Popiſh heir to the Crown. James, therefore, notwithſtanding his proclamation for a Parliament, determined to try every expedient, ere he would hazard ſo formidable an encounter. It appeared to him an eaſier alternative to adviſe with the Biſhops, whom he had ſo lately tried to oppreſs, hoping through their influence to effect ſome compromiſe. Biſhop Ken received a letter from Lord Sunderland to ſay that, "the King thinking it requiſite to ſpeak with ſome of the Biſhops, he had it in command to require his attendance on the 28th of Septem-

ber." Accordingly he came at once to London. The Archbishop, being unwell, could not attend. Ken and five others were admitted to the audience at Whitehall. But James, yielding to treacherous counsellors, had already changed his mind; and appeared to have no fixed object in sending for them. They hoped he would have given them an opportunity of offering him free advice on the measures which his own safety, and that of the kingdom, manifestly required: but he only declared, in very general terms, his favourable views towards the Church of England, reminding them of their duty and loyalty to his person. Ken, and others of the Bishops, had come from a great distance in obedience to his summons: they were grieved that it was to so little purpose. Ken expressed to the King this disappointment, saying that "His Majesty's inclinations towards the Church, and their duty to him, were sufficiently understood and declared before, and would have been equally so, if they had not stirred one foot out of their Dioceses."* The King intimated that he had no leisure to enter into particulars, and so dismissed them.

The Archbishop, hearing how little good had been effected by the interview, went to the King the following day, to request another meeting with the Bishops, that they might explain themselves on the present emergency of his affairs. James accordingly appointed the 3rd of October. Meanwhile he published in the Gazette a notice of the Prince's intended invasion, and appealed to all his loving subjects to

* History of the Desertion: State Tracts, vol. i. p. 46, folio.

defend their country with the valour and courage of true Engliſhmen. Yet, ſuch was his fatuous blindneſs, in the very ſame document he recalled his writs for the Election of Members to Parliament, on the plea that "this ſtrange and unreaſonable attempt from our neighbouring country was deſigned to divert his gracious purpoſes," — which, ſo far from being a reaſon againſt the meeting of Parliament, ought to have convinced him it was the only effectual meaſure for uniting all claſſes in defence of his juſt rights.

In fact, his enemies feared nothing ſo much as his heartily throwing himſelf on the allegiance of his people by this return to the principles of a repreſentative Government. They knew it would reaſſure all honeſt men of his being diſpoſed to liſten to reaſon. Sunderland, therefore, and others of his council, perſuaded him to break his ſolemn pledge. They had no doubt Parliament would at once turn them out of their offices; and, as his perſonal preſence with his army was indiſpenſable, they made him believe that he could not controul the probable encroachments on his prerogative.

On the 3rd of October the Biſhops again waited on the King: having permiſſion to expreſs themſelves on the preſent criſis, the Archbiſhop read the paper they had drawn up.—It conſiſted of 10 articles. They recommended him

1ſt. To put the adminiſtration of government into the hands of ſuch of the nobility and gentry as were *legally qualified* for it.

2nd. To annul the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion.

3rd. To withdraw, and in future withhold, all diſ-

penſations, under which any perſon not lawfully qualified had been, or might be, put into offices of truſt and preferment in Church or State, or in the Univerſities, eſpecially ſuch as have cure of ſouls annexed to them, and particularly to reſtore the Preſident and Fellows of Magdalen College.

4th. To withdraw all licenſes for Roman Catholics to teach in public ſchools.

5th. To deſiſt from the diſpenſing power, until that point had been freely and calmly debated, and ſettled, in Parliament.

6th. To prohibit the four foreign Biſhops, who ſtiled themſelves Vicars Apoſtolical, from further invading the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which is by law veſted in the Biſhops of the Engliſh Church.

7th. To fill the vacant Biſhopricks, and other eccleſiaſtical promotions in England and Ireland, and in particular the Archiepiſcopal chair of York, which had been ſo long vacant, and on which a whole Province depended.

8th. To reſtore the ancient Charters of the Corporations, which had been forfeited.

9th. To iſſue writs with all convenient ſpeed for calling a free and regular Parliament, for ſecuring the uniformity of the Church of England, due liberty of conſcience, and the liberties and properties of the ſubject, and for eſtabliſhing between himſelf and all his people a mutual confidence and good underſtanding.

10th. To permit the Biſhops to offer to His Majeſty ſuch motives and arguments as might, by God's grace, be effectual to perſuade him to return to the Communion of the Church of England, into whoſe

moſt Holy Catholic Faith he had been baptized and educated, to which it was their earneſt prayer to God that he might be reunited.

"Theſe, Sir," concluded the addreſs, "are the humble advices, which, out of conſcience of the duty we owe to God, to your Majeſty, and our country, we think fit at this time to offer to your Majeſty, as ſuitable to the preſent ſtate of your affairs, and moſt conducive to your ſervice; and ſo we leave them to your Princely conſideration, &c.

The paper was ſigned by the Archbiſhop, Ken, and ſeven other Prelates. It was dictated by the ſame bold ſpirit of candour towards the King, and of zeal for the public ſervice, as their former petition, for which he had ſent them to the Tower. They advocate no new principles or theories of government, no line of policy adverſe to his real intereſts, but ſimply a return to the juſt limits of the law, as already exiſting, and a Parliament, as the acknowledged inſtrument of redreſſing preſent grievances. James was prompted by his fears to adopt their advice in ſeveral particulars: but as to the meeting of Parliament, which was the turning point of his ſafety, he ſtoutly reſolved againſt it.

Biſhop Ken, having fulfilled the duty, for which he was ſummoned to London, returned at once to Wells, and to his ſpiritual offices. He ſaw that the King was ſpell-bound, as it were, by the influence of Jeſuits and other adviſers, urging him on to fatal meaſures in furtherance of their own ſchemes; and it was already known that many, who were moſt loud in their hollow profeſſions of loyalty, would be the firſt to deſert him. He felt himſelf unfitted for ſuch ſcenes: he could

neither flatter the King, nor throw himself into the broil of political feuds. The only course open to him was to exert his influence in maintaining the King's interests within the sphere of his own diocese, to encourage the stedfast, confirm the wavering,—if possible, to bring back those who were giving themselves to the cause of rebellion. His pastoral cure was the loved refuge and solace to him in every trial; his people were his only family; in keeping them true to their allegiance he could not err. He held calmly on his way under the guidance of an inner light — gentle, moderate, humble, — but immoveably steadfast to his own principles.

The following week he received a form of prayer, drawn up by the Archbishop, which he caused to be read in the cathedral, and all other churches. It was to beseech God to give his holy angels charge over the King, to preserve his royal person in health and safety, to inspire him with wisdom and justice, and to fill his princely heart with a fatherly care of all his people. To this was added another prayer "for peace, and the prevention of Christian bloodshed in the land, for reconcilement of all dissentions, for the preservation of our holy religion, our ancient laws and government, and for universal charity in the same holy worship and communion."

While the Stadtholder was hurrying on his enterprize, encouraged by fresh promises from England, James did not neglect the means of his defence. Yet they were disproportioned to the dangers that surrounded him, — or rather they were ill directed. Instead of concentrating all his energies to bring his

army into the field, and at once to put himſelf at their head, he loſt much valuable time in collecting detailed, and irrefragable evidence to prove before the Privy Council the reality of the Prince of Wales's birth. As if to provoke ſtill further the public diſtruſt, he choſe to have the child ſolemnly baptized into the Romiſh communion, the Pope, by his Nuncio, ſtanding Godfather. The fact of the Queen's delivery is now undiſputed: but great pains were taken to perſuade the people that it was an impoſture, managed by the Jeſuits. William, in the public Declaration which he had put forth, explaining the motives and objects of his coming over, laid great ſtreſs on a ſuppoſititious birth, as a topic well ſuited to inflame the prejudices of the nation. If he really believed the calumny, it was not creditable to his judgment; if he diſbelieved it (as ſubſequent facts would ſeem to prove), ſo foul an imputation on the honour of his father in law, and of the Queen, compromiſes at once his veracity and manlineſs.

At length, on the 5th of November, he effected his landing in Torbay. But he met with a cold and timid welcome, which damped the ardour of his hopes. The terrible puniſhment inflicted on the inſurgents in Monmouth's rebellion was ſtill freſh in all memories throughout the weſt of England; and ſo few joined his ſtandard, that he entertained ſerious thoughts of returning. Had James at once marched his army to meet him, it is difficult to ſay what might have been the reſult: but he committed the fatal error of remaining twelve days in London, during which many of the nobility and gentry went over to the Prince.

A civil war appeared inevitable: it was the conſtant opinion of all the King's real friends, that even now the only hope of avoiding this calamity was to call a free Parliament. The Archbiſhop, therefore, and ſuch of the Prelates as were in town, with ſeveral of the Peers, reſolved once more to repreſent to him the danger of the preſent diſtractions by reaſon of their grievances, and to beſeech him with all ſpeed to adopt this meaſure. It has been erroneouſly ſtated that Ken was again in London on this occaſion. But he thought he could be of more uſe in the country. The reſult verified his opinion; for a part of the invading army came to Wells, which made it neceſſary for him to take meaſures of precaution for the public ſervice, in obedience to the King's Proclamation. He alſo foreſaw that nothing would divert James from his reſolution, which was proved by his anſwer to the Petition of the Peers: "My Lords," he ſaid, "What you aſk of me I moſt paſſionately deſire; and *I promiſe you upon the faith of a King*, that I will have a Parliament, and ſuch a one as you aſk for, *as ſoon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this Realm:* for how is it poſſible a Parliament ſhould be free in all its circumſtances, as you petition for, whilſt an enemy is in the kingdom, and can make a return of near a hundred voices?"

Thus he ſacrificed everything to a blind confidence in his falſe counſellors. He left London the ſame evening, (the 17th November) to join his army at Saliſbury; accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, Lord Churchill, and others. He arrived at Saliſbury on the 19th, but being deſerted by the unprincipled Churchill, and many of his chief officers, and

fearing he might be betrayed into the hands of the enemy, he retreated to Andover on the 24th."* Ken mentions this, with other circumſtances, in a letter of the ſame date to Sancroft.

" For his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

" ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

" May it pleaſe your Grace,

" BEFORE I could return any anſwer to the letter with which your Grace was pleaſed to favour me, I received intelligence that the Dutch were juſt coming to Wells, upon which I immediately left the town, and in obedience to his Majeſty's generall commands, took all my coach horſes with me, and as many of my ſaddle horſes as I could, and took ſhelter in a private village† in Wiltſhire, intending if his Majeſty had come into my country, to have waited on him, and have paid him my duty. But this morning wee are told his Ma: is gone back to London, ſo that I only wait till the Dutch have paſſed my dioceſe, and then reſolve to return thither againe, as being my proper ſtation. I

* A ſhrewd writer of the day obſerves, " 'twas no wonder after this if the King began to miſtruſt everybody, which made him on a ſudden leave his army at Saliſbury, in order to conſider his condition more ſecurely at London. And here I muſt obſerve his ill fortune in depending on his army at firſt too much, and now at laſt too little. For 'tis very probable that his ſoldiers, if once blooded, would have gone on with him, and have beaten the Prince of Orange, juſt as they had done before the Duke of Monmouth: the nature of Engliſhmen being like that of our game cocks; they love no cauſe, nor man, ſo well as fighting, even ſometimes without any cauſe at all." Addl. MSS. Brit. Muſ. 9393.

† No doubt Poulſhot, a ſmall village near Deviſes, of which his nephew, Iſaak Walton junior, was Rector.

would not have left the Diocese in this juncture, but that the Dutch had seas'd houses within ten miles of Wells before I went, and your Grace knows that I, having been a servant to the Princess, and well acquainted with many of the Dutch, I could not have staid without giving some occasion of suspicion, which I thought it most advisable to avoid; resolving by God's grace to continue in a firm loyalty to the King, whome God direct and preserve in this time of danger; and I beseech your Grace to lay my most humble duty at his Majesty's feet, and to acquaint him with the reason of my retiring, that I may not be misunderstood. God of his infinite mercy deliver us from the calamitys which now threaten us, and from the sinnes which have occasioned them.

"My very good Lord,

Your Graces very affect: servant and Br.

THO. BATH AND WELLS." *

"Nov. 24, 1688."

Very different from these loyal sentiments was the scene of treachery which, on the same day, was passing in the Court at Andover, within the distance of twenty miles from Poulshot. The King halted there on his retreat from Salisbury. His son in law, Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and others supped with him,—loyalty and devotion on their lips, perfidy in their hearts: for immediately after supper they took horse to join the Prince of Orange at Sherborne. Prince George might, at least, have had the decency to abstain from his father's table, which he polluted by

* Round's Prose Works of Thomas Ken.

his preſence, and from which he roſe only to perpetrate his long meditated treachery. He left behind him a mean letter to the King, beginning, "With a heart full of grief am I forced to write what prudence will not permit me to ſay to your face," and ſigned himſelf "Your Majeſtys moſt obedient and humble ſervant and ſon." He was a poor creature, as weak in intellect as in principle. James declares, in his memoirs, that "he was more troubled at the unnaturalneſs of the action than the want of his ſervices, for that the loſs of a good trooper would have been of greater conſequence." * His only anſwer to the letter was to ſend his ſervants and equipage after him, which, if the Prince had a ſpark of feeling, muſt have been a keen and contemptuous reproof.†

On the 24th of November the King continued his retreat: he gave orders to diſtribute his forces in the different villages between Windſor and London, and arrived the next day at Whitehall, weary and enfeebled in body, diſtracted and haraſſed in ſpirit. He might hope at leaſt to find, if only for a ſhort interval, the refreſhing ſenſe of tenderneſs and affection in his family circle. Scarcely, however, had he received the firſt welcome of the Queen, when his enquiries for the Princeſs Anne, to whom he had ever been an indulgent parent, were met by the intelligence that ſhe had

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* His own Memoirs. Clarke's Life of James II. vol. ii. p. 225.

† He had a ſilly trick of expreſſing his wonder on every occaſion by "eſt il poſſible." When the King heard in the morning that he had followed the example of others in eſcaping to the enemy, he ſaid ſneeringly, "ſo *eſt il poſſible* is gone too." Ibid. in the note.

secretly left the palace the night before, in a hackney coach, with the Bishop of London and Lady Churchhill, and was gone to meet the Prince of Orange. Well might the father's heart sink within him at this astounding news: — the bitter cup of adversity was now well nigh full. He burst into tears. His own daughter, forgetting all the tenderness of her sex, the instincts of nature, the motives of filial gratitude, duty, allegiance and piety—clandestinely fled from his palace to aid the successful invader of his throne! Nor was this from any sudden impulse of duty to her husband; for she had long known, and acquiesced in, the proposed invasion, and some days previous to the flight of Prince George had written to William, expressing her impatience to join him. It might be that her attachment to the Anglican Church superseded all other affections. Let charity offer this palliation; it can never justify the unnatural and irreligious act.

"It was on this occasion," says James in his Memoirs, "that finding himself in the like circumstances with King David, he cry'd out with him, 'Oh if my enemys only had curs'd me, I could have borne it:' but it was an inexpressible grief to see those he had favour'd, cherish'd, and exalted, nay his own children, rise thus in opposition against him. This was what required a more than natural force to support: those strokes had been less sensible, had they come from hands less dear to him; but being delivered over to all the contradictions that malice or ingratitude could throw in his way, he saw no hopes of redress, so turned his whole attention how to save the Queen, and the

Prince his ſon, and caſt about which way to do it with moſt ſecurity and ſecrecy." *

We may haſten over the next ſix weeks, full as they were of ſtirring events, and offering to the hiſtorical reader one of the moſt intereſting and inſtructive epochs in the annals of England. The King, having returned to London, at length iſſued a Proclamation for the meeting of Parliament. Had he done this earlier, or even now cauſed the two Houſes to meet, he might have preſerved his throne: for though he had himſelf violated the Conſtitution, they would, no doubt, have maintained his rights. The great bulk of the nation, in joining the Prince, intended only to guard their religion and liberties. But James's adviſers knowing the meaſure would ſeal their downfall and diſgrace, perſuaded him, rather than ſubmit to any compromiſe, to throw himſelf into the arms of the French King, who would ſoon enable him to return with a powerful army to recover his throne. In an evil hour he adopted this advice. He had already ſent over the Queen and the young Prince; and on the 11th of December, to the joy of the Stadtholder, and the amazement of the nation, he withdrew ſecretly from Whitehall, and made for the coaſt. He ſays, "things were come to that extremity, by the general defection of the nobility, gentry, and clergy; by the ſcandalous deſertion of the chief officers and others in the army, as gave little reaſon to truſt thoſe who remained; ſo that no other counſel could reaſonably be embraced, but to quit

* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 229.

the kingdom with as much ſecrecy as he poſſibly could." *

He was diſcovered at Feverſham by ſome fiſhermen, and very roughly handled by the mob: but the next day theſe tidings being brought to the council, they ſent a detachment of troops to protect his perſon, and invite his return. Accordingly on the 15th, by one of thoſe ſtrange viciſſitudes which baffle all calculation, he made his entry again into London amidſt the loud welcomes of the inconſtant populace. Bonfires, peals of bells, and all imaginable marks of love and eſteem, made it wear the appearance of a day of triumph. Theſe expreſſions of regard were prompted by a momentary, but generous feeling of pity at hearing of his ill treatment.

The Prince, who had advanced his army without oppoſition to Windſor, hearing of this unſettled temper of the people, could not reſtrain his reſentment againſt thoſe who had promoted the King's return. He now had recourſe to unworthy expedients to force him, by fears for his perſonal ſafety, to fly once more. The foreign guards were ordered to take up their quarters at Whitehall. James retired to reſt in the midſt of them: but at midnight, whilſt he was in bed, a warrant was delivered to him from the Prince, ordering him to leave the palace before ten o'clock the next morning, the 18th December. The full ſenſe of his danger prompted him once more to the conviction that his only courſe was to eſcape to France. He was

* His own Memoirs. Clarke's Hiſtory of James II., vol. ii. p. 241.

allowed to proceed to Rochefter, from whence, by William's order, every facility of efcape was afforded him; and on the 25th he for ever left England to take refuge with a foreign Prince. The generous long-enduring fympathy of Louis exhibited a forcible contraft to the felfifh and inflexible ambition of his own fon in law.

Within a few days of the King's removal from London William came to the palace with his Dutch troops, the rabble crowding and fhouting round him, as they had done a few days before for James. The Courtiers who, as but yefterday, waited on the King, now haftened to pay their duty to the ufurper of his throne. William, aftonifhed at their ficklenefs, refolved not to truft them, until he had adjufted the clafhing interefts of all parties to the prefent pofture of his fortunes. In contraft with his own intentnefs of purpofe he difcerned the inconfiftency of thofe he had to deal with. He conducted himfelf with admirable difcretion and calmnefs: he faid little; and by no act did he overftep the pofition of a provident general, quartering his army in and near the capital of a friendly nation he was come to refcue from oppreffion. This was the turn he fucceeded in giving to the public mind, which he had the tact to feem always to follow, rather than lead.

On the 20th the Sheriffs, and a deputation from the city, had an audience to exprefs their fenfe of gratitude and attachment. On the 25th the Lords, having met in their own Houfe, voted an addrefs, defiring his Highnefs to take upon him the temporary management of affairs, and to caufe letters to be written, fub-

ſcribed by himſelf, to the counties, univerſities and towns, directing them to chooſe members who ſhould aſſemble in Parliament. The Prince did not conſider their authority ſufficient, without an equal ſanction from the Commons; and before he would return any anſwer he invited all who had ſerved in any of the Parliaments of Charles II., alſo the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and fifty of the Common Council, to wait upon him. Accordingly 160 members, with the citizens, came to St. James's on the 26th, and being made acquainted with the ſtate of affairs, were deſired to meet for deliberation in the Houſe of Commons in Weſtminſter. This they immediately did, made choice of their ſpeaker, and concurred in the addreſs of the Lords. Under this joint authority, the Prince iſſued his ſummons for the meeting of a Convention on the 22nd of January. The 30th of December, being Sunday, he received the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England.

CHAPTER XXII.

Meeting of the Convention Parliament — Declaration that the Throne was vacant — Not approved by Ken and others. — The Crown conferred on William and Mary — The Revolution considered.

THE Hiſtory of James II. preſents to us the ſpectacle of a king, ſacrificing his inherited crown, and all that life had to offer of power, honour, or happineſs, to the vain hope of re-eſtabliſhing Romaniſm, which had long been rejected by the nation. Mr. Fox imputes to him the love of arbitrary power, as his maſter paſſion: we may rather aſcribe his acts to a ſincere attachment to his religion, and the dictates of conſcience. The whole hiſtory of the world teems with examples of errors, and even crimes, committed under the ſanction of a miſtaken conſcience. The aſſaſſin of Henri Quatre ſincerely thought he was ridding the Chriſtian world of a dangerous heretic. The maſſacre of St. Bartholomew was perpetrated under the belief that, in promoting the cauſe of the Catholic religion, it would tend to the glory of God. Oliver Cromwell's conſcience, if we are to believe his own aſſertions, prompted him to bring Charles to the block. The religious perſecutions of all ſects, in all times,—and the alternate yoke of oppreſſors, in whatever cauſe, have been defended on the ſame falſe plea. Conſcience has a varying

ſtandard in every individual mind,—true, when ſhe prompts us to the exerciſe of Chriſtian love, but a ſubtle betrayer, whenever ſhe would juſtify the acts of a violent or ſelfiſh will. James's conſcience was in the keeping of Father Petre, and Signor D'Adda, "a fine ſhowy fop, making love to the ladies." * Under their guidance he would have impoſed a yoke on England, in the confidence that he could interpret the Divine Will, which he was conſcientiouſly reſolved to accompliſh by his own means,—and ſo forfeited the kingdom for himſelf and his poſterity.

It may be well aſked what became all this time of the Jeſuits, Monks, and Roman Counſellors, who had been the active agents of miſchief, and the immediate cauſe of the King's downfall. They were abſolutely put to the rout: ſome eſcaped to France, others hid themſelves; their chapels were burnt or pillaged by the mob. A letter from Father Con to the Provincial of the Jeſuits at Rome gives a lively picture of their confuſion, and of their own folly that brought it about.

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* Father Con's letter. Clarendon's Correſpondence and Diary, vol. ii. p. 506. In his after Memoirs the King admits that D'Adda was very ill choſen as Nuncio, "being but a young man, who had appear'd at court for ſome time in a ſecular capacity, and therefore very improper to draw that reverence and reſpect which is due to ſuch a character, eſpecially from a people of a different religion, and who being apt to turn the moſt ſacred things into ridicule, would hardly be perſuaded that, by a man's entering into orders, gravitie, experience, learning, and all other qualifications fit for a Biſhop, would be confer'd in an inſtant, as in the Apoſtles' time." Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 117.

" London, 10 Dec. 1688.

" Honour'd Father William,

" THERE is now an end of all the pleaſing hopes of ſeeing our holy religion make a progreſs in this country. The King and Queen are fled, their adherents are left to themſelves, and a new Prince, with a foreign army, has got poſſeſſion without the leaſt reſiſtance. It is a thing unſeen, unheard of, unrecorded in hiſtory, that a king in peaceful poſſeſſion of his realm, with an army of 30,000 fighting men, and 40 ſhips of war, ſhould quit his kingdom without firing a piſtol. The foreigners themſelves who have got poſſeſſion are aſtoniſhed at their own ſucceſs, and laugh at the Engliſh for their cowardice and diſloyalty to their Prince. It looks as if heaven and earth had conſpired againſt us. But this is not all; the great evil comes from ourſelves; our own imprudence, avarice, and ambition have brought all this upon us. The good king has made uſe of fools, knaves, and blockheads; and the great miniſter that you ſent hither has contributed alſo his ſhare. Inſtead of a moderate, diſcreet and ſagacious miniſter, you ſent a mere boy, a fine ſhowy fop to make love to the ladies;

Egregiam verò laudem, et ſpolia ampla tuliſtis.

But enough on this head, my dear friend; the whole affair is over. I am only ſorry that I made one among ſo many madmen, who were incapable of either directing or governing. I now return, as I can, with the little family * to a land of Chriſtians: this unhappy voyage coſts me dear: but there is no help for it.

* i. e. the Jeſuits.

The prospect was fair, if the business had been in the hands of men of sense; but, to our disgrace, the helm was held by rogues. I have already paid the compliments of the new year to our patrons; and I now do the same to you and to all friends. If God grants me a safe passage beyond sea, you shall hear from me.

"I remain as usual.

"A Scotch gentleman named Salton who is arrived here from P. D. O. sends his respects to you, and Signore Tomaso. The confusion here is great, nor is it known what is likely to be the event, much less what it will be: but for us there is neither faith nor hope left. We are totally put to the rout this time, and the Fathers of our Holy Company have contributed their part towards this destruction. All the rest Bishops, Confessors, Friars and monks have acted with little prudence." *

As soon as it was known that the King had gone away the second time, Archbishop Sancroft wrote to Ken, Lloyd, and others, requiring their attendance. "My Lord; the great Revolutions, which have of late been here, and ye perplext estate of affairs, consequent thereupon, have made it not only mine, but the opinion of all our Brethren here, that you should make all convenient hast up hither. Wishing you a prosperous journey.

I remain Y^r very affect. Brother

"Lambh. H. Dec. 18, 1688." W. CANT." †

The letter reached Ken within 48 hours of the time

* Lord Clarendon's Correspondence and Diary, vol. ii. p. 506.

† MSS. Dr. Williams's Collection.

he was to hold an Ordination in his cathedral. He did not hesitate in deciding which was his paramount duty: he proceeded with the appointed work of the Church. Christmas and the following days being holy Festivals, he was not disposed to mix in political turmoils, and promised to come up as soon as the weather would permit.*

The Prince maintained an impenetrable reserve as to his next movements: but his friends and partizans were encouraged to prepare the public mind for his taking possession of the throne: they "marshall'd him the way that he was going," loudly proclaiming his virtues, and the debt of gratitude the nation owed him for their deliverance from tyranny and Popery. The press teemed with laudatory tracts, and arguments to prove his title to the crown. "The Prince of Orange, who had more interest than any in what was to follow, seemed the only person in England unconcerned amidst the universal ferment. He went little abroad: he was difficult of access. When access was obtained, he appeared civil, but not cordial, listened with attention, but answered not; and the few questions he asked seemed to proceed only from the common curiosity of a stranger. He even went a hunting, and dined at a private gentleman's house in the country, two days before the Convention was to take the great question of the settlement into consideration. In the whole of his behaviour he not only kept, but affected to show that he kept, his inclinations concerning the future measures of the Convention a mystery; either

* Tanner MSS. vol. xxviii. p. 299.

from grandeur of mind, or from the affectation of it; or perhaps from a desire to see the character and actions of the English in their native colours." *

The Declaration of the Prince, before his landing, led the world to believe that he aimed at nothing beyond a Regency: it explicitly states that "he had no other view than to establish the lawful Government, according as a free Parliament should find necessary for the peace, honour and safety of the Kingdom, so that there may be no more danger of its falling at any time hereafter under arbitrary government." † This is confirmed by his reference to the rights of the Princess, intimating that she was entitled to the succession after her father's death. Clarendon says that so late as the 4th of December, at Salisbury, he was told by Monsr. Bentinck, the most confidential friend of the Prince, that "his Highness had acted in conformity with his Declaration throughout; though there are not evil men wanting, who give it out that the Prince aspires at the Crown, *which is the most wicked insinuation that could be invented;* that though three Kingdoms would be a great temptation to other men, yet it would appear the Prince preferred his word before all other things in the world, and would pursue his Declaration, in endeavouring to settle all matters here upon a true foundation." It is certain that, before James withdrew from the kingdom, the great majority of the nobles and gentry, bishops and clergy, entertained no other thoughts than a Regency: it was not until after the

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, p. 257.

† History of the Desertion, p. 72.

King had gone away that the ulterior views of the Prince began to unfold themſelves.

Ken, being ſummoned to the Houſe of Lords, did not fail to be preſent on ſo ſolemn an occaſion, when the intereſts of the Church and of the Crown were at ſtake. He could hardly doubt that, in the perplexed diſcuſſions and jarring intereſts of party men, he would have to take a line adverſe to the Prince, who was in all probability to wear the crown. This cauſed him no indeciſion: there was no feebleneſs of purpoſe in any courſe he had ever purſued. His frank ſimplicity was one of the main elements of his calmneſs in all emergencies: he felt no anxiety to ingratiate himſelf with thoſe in power by a compromiſe of principle. He was at Lambeth Palace on the 10th of January 1689, Sancroft being very deſirous to have the advice of the Biſhops at the preſent criſis. We have a letter from Dr. Turner, Biſhop of Ely, apologizing for his, and his Brethren's unwelcome importunities with the Archbiſhop, who appears to have expreſſed his unwillingneſs to attend the Convention. In this he perſevered to the end: he was ready to ſuſtain the King's rights by his counſel, and to ſuffer for the cauſe of the Crown; but he could not be perſuaded to take his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers. It was a great diſappointment to the legitimiſts that one of his virtue, ability, and rank in the State, who had ſo ſtrong a hold on the reverence of the people, ſhould appear to be wanting in deciſion, when the queſtions at iſſue might be powerfully influenced by his public avowal of the principles of allegiance.

Ken had been requeſted to ſketch out "a draft of

certain propositions against deposing, electing, or breaking the succession," which, after revision, might be presented to the Convention as the general voice of the Prelates in favour of the King's title. This was sent to the Archbishop, as "a little paper of hints," which he, "being better versed in the repositories of canons, and statutes," was requested to form and put in order. "I see nothing," says Turner, "so likely as this representation to unite us, and satisfy all good men, who are now waiting, and fixing their hopes on us as the body to make a stand." *

The Bishops, especially those whom James had imprisoned, did not consider that his departure from the kingdom made a forfeit of his constitutional rights. They held themselves bound by their oaths to adhere to him. Evelyn says, "I visited the Archbishop on the 15th, where I found the Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, and others. After prayers, and dinner, divers serious matters were discoursed concerning the present state of the public; and I was sorry to find (from them) there was yet no accord in the judgment of those of the Lords and Commons who were to convene: some would have the Princess of Orange made Queen without any more dispute; others were for a Regency: there was a Tory party (as then so call'd) who were for inviting His Majesty again upon conditions; and there were Republicans, who would make the P. of Orange like a Stadtholder. The Romanists were busy amongst these several parties, to bring them into confusion; most for ambition, or other interest,

* Doyly's Life of Sancroft.

few for conſcience, and moderate reſolutions. I found nothing of all this in the aſſembly of Biſhops, who were pleaſed to admit me into their diſcourſes; they were all for a Regency, thereby to ſalve their oaths, and ſo all public matters to proceed in his Mj^ty's^ name, by that to facilitate the calling of a Parliament, according to the laws in being."*

On the 22nd of January the two Houſes met at Weſtminſter to decide this great queſtion. Hardly ever was there a day more important to the future intereſts of England. Their firſt act was an order for a public thankſgiving, on the 31ſt, for their deliverance from Popery, and arbitrary power. They afterwards concurred in an addreſs to the Prince of Orange, as the "glorious inſtrument, next to God, of ſo great a bleſſing," and requeſted him to continue the government of all public affairs, which he had hitherto ſo prudently conducted. The Biſhops were requeſted to frame appropriate prayers for the day of thankſgiving. Thus William was juſtified by the voice of the nation.

The Convention continued to deliberate until the 12th of February: both Houſes were engaged in lengthy debates, conflicting propoſals, amendments, and conferences, — whether the Throne was really vacant, and whether William ſhould be only Regent, or be inveſted with full ſovereignty. All this time the Prince lived in ſecluſion at St. James's. His pride and independence could not ſtoop to win the crown by courtly arts, for which, indeed, he was very little qualified by his inflexible temper, and diſtant manners.

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* Diary, vol. ii. p. 1.

He well knew the dilemma in which the country ſtood; and he was reſolved to leave them no alternative between his own coronation, or the recall of James. This latter he had no occaſion to fear: he ſaw the vaſt majority of the nation already exulting in their eſcape from thraldom. The laſt acts of the King, even in the moment of departure, had ſhown his fixed attachment to the Roman faith; and what could the nobles expect from ſo arbitrary a monarch, but a ſevere retribution for their late deſertion of him, if he ſhould ever return at the head of a French army?

William's deciſion of character was not likely to be relaxed by his triumphant march through the heart of the kingdom. The confident leader of confederate kings, accuſtomed through life to ſurmount difficulties, now clearly determined his own path amid the irreſolute counſels of a Parliament, bound to him by an acknowledgment of his ſervices. As he had ſo largely ſtaked his reputation and ſafety on a mature calculation of the chances, he was not diſpoſed to yield the game, when it was in his own hands. The Houſes had already been three weeks in debate: he was no longer diſpoſed to brook this delay, and doubtful balancing of the future. He ſent, therefore, to ſome of the Lords who had invited him over; he told them plainly he did not wiſh to interfere in their meaſures; but he would have it underſtood that he did not mean to be Regent of England: he had rather go back with his army to Holland. He would be nothing leſs than King. He even deſired that the Princeſs ſhould only be Queen Conſort, and the whole executive power veſted in himſelf. This was too much to bear: there was ſomething

un-Engliſh in the idea of diſpoſſeſſing Mary of her birthright. After all he was but a foreigner, — and the nation, though largely his debtor, loved their own Princeſs, from whom alone he derived his right of interference. The Houſes were prepared to give him the joint ſovereignty with herſelf, and to leave the executive in his hands: a conceſſion beyond which they would not go. This led to a compromiſe; and it was at length agreed to beſtow the crown on the Prince and Princeſs conjointly for their lives, and to the ſurvivor; — and that William ſhould enjoy the full exerciſe of power in his own name, and that of Mary.

Practically the ſettlement of the nation could not have been accompliſhed under a Regency, which always implies a limit of duration. If William was to govern effectually, it could only be as King. The ſame authority that would have beſtowed the Regency might at any time withdraw it on ſome ſpecious pretext. The machinery of ſuch a government could not have held together under the preſſure of contending factions: it would have had no laſting ſtrength, if ſubject to the breath of popular feeling, at all times uncertain, and in England liable to ſudden changes. William was at once too ſagacious, and too independent, to ſubmit to any ſuch hazard. At the very beſt he was entering on a taſk of much intricacy and toil: nothing but the ſtrong prerogatives of the crown, founded on ancient law and uſage, could have controlled a jealous Houſe of Commons on the one hand, and on the other a proud ariſtocracy, at all times divided into parties, and forward to claim a large ſhare in power and influence. Even after he had become king he was ſo haraſſed

and chagrined by the contests of Whig and Tory factions, of enthusiasts for a Republic, and partizans of James, that he more than once formed the project of returning to Holland, and leaving the Queen to govern a people he could neither conciliate nor coerce. As Regent he could never have sustained a power, whose strong hold must have been the personal attachment of the people, for he was devoid of those winning qualities which would reconcile a jealous nation to a foreign rule. He exhibited, therefore, a sound judgment in refusing impracticable limits and conditions of government.

Archbishop Sancroft could not be prevailed upon to attend any part of these discussions. His friends urgently entreated him to do so; and it was thought his presence would have turned the scale in the House of Lords, where the numbers were very evenly balanced. On the great question whether the Prince should be Regent or King, the latter was carried only by a majority of two; fifty-one against forty-nine. Sancroft had resolved in his own mind never to change his allegiance: but, perhaps doubting the legality of the Convention, and foreseeing the result of the debates, he was unwilling by his presence, as Primate, to give even a shadow of pretence for saying that, having shared in them, he was bound by the act of the majority. Ken, on the other hand, is recorded in the minutes of the House to have been present on each day without a single omission. He voted on all the questions, but took no part in the debates. At length when the Peers, by a majority of fifteen, concurred with the Commons in bestowing the crown upon William and Mary, he joined with the minority in a protest against

the Reſolution, and then altogether withdrew. Both theſe holy men acted from a ſenſe of duty: they differed in judgment, not only on this, but afterwards on other material points, affecting the intereſts of the Church, and the line of right they were called to purſue.

The Convention, in conferring the crown upon William, did not neglect the opportunity to ſettle the bounds of the Royal prerogative, and to ſecure to the nation the full eſtabliſhment of their religion, and liberties. The Act, therefore, which made over the crown, began with a recital of the arbitrary meaſures of James, contrary to the known laws, and ſtatutes, and freedom of the Realm. It ſets forth a DECLARATION OF RIGHTS compriſed in thirteen Articles, which muſt ever be conſidered a grand and conſpicuous work, the ſeal of our liberties, and a monument of the wiſdom and energy of our anceſtors. The ſame day that this Act and Declaration were made, the Princeſs Mary arrived from Holland, and was received with every mark of affection. William had delayed her coming until he ſaw that his path to the throne was clear of every difficulty. This is an additional proof that he would have carried out his threat of returning to Holland, rather than accept the Regency.

It is due to his active and ſagacious genius to ſay, that every meaſure in preparing and accompliſhing his deſigns was ſo adapted to the end in view, ſo well timed, and ſo fortified againſt every contingency, as to eſtabliſh his claim to a maſterly political foreſight. He is entitled to the merit of having, by his judicious and moderate conduct, courage, and ſecrecy, prevented the long train of evils which uſually accompany a forced

change of dynaſty. He preſents a rare inſtance of an aſpiring invader, controlling every event, yet ſeeming to ſubmit the exerciſe of his power to the will of thoſe he meant to govern. Landing with a ſmall force on a foreign ſhore, to dethrone a king in command of a much larger army than his own, he threw himſelf with entire confidence amidſt a brave people, who had for years been engaged in obſtinate wars with his own countrymen: and now, by plauſible appeals to their prejudices, and by adapting his whole conduct to their known character and needs, he at once rouſed them to a deeper ſenſe of the wrongs they had ſuffered, and convinced them that he was the only proper and effectual inſtrument of their deliverance.

He induced them to believe that he claimed nothing for himſelf,—aimed at no conqueſt,—deſired no other title than that of mediator between them and their deluded king. He prudently refrained from every act which they did not themſelves appear to prompt. Their outraged religion and laws were the theme on which he dilated: he offered them his ſympathy, and his aid, in ſecuring to them a juſt and legal government, deſiring only, in return, that they ſhould rightly appreciate his motives, and give him the meed of their approval. In the name of his "beloved conſort," an Engliſh Princeſs, he claimed the confidence of the nation, with whoſe intereſts he was identified: he expreſſed no paſſion but the love of liberty, which he had ſucceſsfully vindicated in his own country; and in the ſame cauſe he was now ready to hazard, as in the face of Europe, his perſon and good name.

William muſt ever be conſidered in the light of a

ſucceſsful uſurper: but his uſurpation ſecured to England the free exerciſe of her religious and civil rights. He violated the firſt principles of the moral law in dethroning a ſovereign, who had a peculiar claim to his reſpect and duty: but it was the general voice of the nation itſelf that proclaimed him king. He was falſe to his own Declaration, which diſclaimed any deſire to ſeize the crown: but when he attained it, he exerciſed its powers with moderation.

Many learned works have been written on the abſtract principles of government, involved in the hiſtory of this period;—the divine right of kings, the law of nature, the original compact between prince and people, the obligation of kings to conform to their oaths, the right of forcible reſiſtance to the tyranny of rulers, paſſive obedience, the effect of an abdication on the rights of a legitimate heir, born at the time, have been variouſly diſcuſſed. Great authorities might be quoted as advocates on either ſide. But the fate of kingdoms and people in times of emergency do not depend on fine-drawn theories of government. The prejudices and paſſions, the intereſts and reſolves of men have ever ſwept away all ſuch reſtraints: practically, whether right or wrong, neceſſity impoſes her own law. This at leaſt may be ſaid, that in England the cauſes of confuſion, if traced to their ſource, will generally be found to lie with the exiſting rulers, or their predeceſſors. Such undoubtedly was the caſe in the Revolution of 1688.

CHAPTER XXV.

Ken, and other Bishops, refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance to William and Mary. Act of Parliament for their suspension and deprival. Question of Passive Obedience. Ken's consistent Conduct. The Non-juring Bishops publish a Vindication of themselves.

THE life of Ken, if not unchequered, had hitherto been one of continued and advancing usefulness in the several offices of the Church: the world smiled upon him, honoured his piety, admired his eloquence, loved him for his charities. Henceforward his character is to be viewed under a new aspect. He was misunderstood, misrepresented, forced into retirement and poverty: "suffering deprivation" (to use his own words) "not only of honour, but of income; sufficiently ridiculed, and exposed to the world as a man of no conscience, particulars out of which may be framed an idea very deplorable."* Still, the inner man was unchanged—in every act we find the same simplicity, blending with an undaunted firmness that could not yield up of principle one span's breadth.

His future path was to be more difficult, because every step was beset with entangled questions of personal consistency, which to a sensitive mind are deeply

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 35.

anxious;—more reſponſible, becauſe it tended to ſeparate him from the great body of the Engliſh Church, which he ſo much loved, as the ordained inſtrument and channel of the true worſhip of God. Having joined in the laſt ſtruggle in the Houſe of Lords to maintain the rights of the King, he was ſoon called to decide a point, on which would depend the whole tenor of his after life. At his conſecration he had ſworn, as in the preſence of God, that James was the rightful King, and that he would bear true faith to him, and his heirs:—a pledge impoſed by Parliament. The ſame power now required him to forego this oath, and to ſwear, with equal ſolemnity, that he would hold allegiance to William and Mary, who had thruſt James from his throne. This, if oaths have any meaning, was ſufficient to raiſe ſerious ſcruples of conſcience.

He found himſelf in a ſtrait between oppoſing difficulties. No doubt the late King had violated his coronation oath, that he would maintain unimpaired the Church of England,—to Ken the moſt ſacred of all things upon earth. On the faith of that oath he, and all the Clergy, had ſworn allegiance to him. Had not James broken this mutual compact? Ken himſelf had joined in thanks to the Prince, as the inſtrument of their deliverance from Popery: the eſtates of the realm had declared the crown to be forfeited by the one, and their decree had already placed the other in poſſeſſion. Could he ſet up his own ſenſe of their reſpective rights, againſt the voice of the nation, making himſelf judge on the difficult points of caſuiſtry, involved in the claims of a King de facto, and a King de jure, with the other political queſtions that followed

in their train? Again, the refusal of the new oath would involve him in an unequal contest with the temporal power, separate him from his flock,—deprive him of all influence in preserving true doctrine throughout his extensive diocese. It would, perhaps, expose him to persecution and imprisonment, certainly reduce him to poverty—above all, lead to a schism in the Church. Here were his love of peace, the law of obedience, long cherished friendships, his own personal safety and interests, and especially the cause of unity,—prompting him to submit. These, in their several degree, had induced the majority of the Bishops, and the great mass of the Clergy to yield acquiescence.

One simple fact, however, to his mind, outweighed them all. If he should forfeit his oath of fidelity to James, by transferring an allegiance, which he conscientiously believed to be irrevocable, he would peril his own soul. His plighted faith was not his own to barter away at any price; the awful words "so help me God," sealed on the holy Evangelists, were registered in heaven, beyond the dispensing power of man. All, therefore, was as dust in the balance against the solemn sense of his duty, and of his account hereafter to be rendered. No interests could swerve him—no terrors shake him—no persuasions seduce him to do evil that good might come. There was a moral compulsion that bound him indissolubly. Archbishop Sancroft, and seven other Bishops adopted the same views.

Innumerable were the pamphlets, sermons, and books of controversy that issued from the press, to prove the legal obligation to take the new oath; and many were

the arguments, reſervations, limits, and juſtifying pleas before magiſtrates, under which the Clergy in general were permitted, and even perſuaded ſo to do. The greater number took the oath, on the ground that James had vacated, and forfeited the throne; many conſidered that by human and divine law allegiance was due to a King in actual poſſeſſion; ſome were brought to acquieſce on the lower ground of living peaceably and quietly; others conſidered it as a temporary oath, ſubject to recall if ever James ſhould recover his kingdom. All this the Non-jurors thought to be indefenſible: it was contrary to their ſenſe of plain dealing, and they were content to ſuffer for the truth. It might be hard to make the world believe they acted only from religious motives: that was but of ſecondary importance; they reſolved at all hazards to witneſs a good confeſſion of what they thought right.

As the great bulk of the nation in numbers, influence, and wealth were willing to complete the work of the Revolution by taking the oaths, it might be thought a very little matter to the Government whether the reſt concurred, or not: but the fact was otherwiſe. All ranks of people felt a generous ſympathy in the fate of the Biſhops, who had ſo manfully withſtood the late King's illegal acts. Parliament had recognized the value of their ſtedfaſtneſs by an unanimous vote of thanks.* It was felt that in their reſiſtance to Popery they had acted as true Engliſhmen, heartily devoted to their country.

* Gutch's Coll. Curioſa, vol. i. p. 46.

Their inflexible adherence, in the former reign, to the faith they profeſſed would have rendered them illuſtrious in any age: for what ſtronger teſtimony could men bear to the truth than to ſuffer impriſonment, as they had done, and incur the danger of deprival, if not a worſe fate, under a tyrant, backed by corrupt judges, and an irreſiſtible military power? Their preſent ſcruples were known to be founded on a ſenſe of duty, to which, as before, they were now again reſolved to ſacrifice their deareſt intereſts. It was impoſſible not to admire ſuch an example of fortitude, however men might differ as to the neceſſity for it. They were bright ornaments of the Church: and the Church of England is dear to Engliſhmen;—and ever will be, whatever their rulers, or ſectarians, or ſeceders, may think: it wants only occaſions, which may bring her into danger, to prove this. She may yet have to ſuſtain the aſſaults of an Eraſtian power, that would fain ſubject her to a Parliamentary rule; but ſhe bears a charmed life; for ſhe is founded upon a rock,—and that Rock is Chriſt.

William, too, remembered the courageous endurance of theſe Biſhops at the critical moment, when they were moſt conducive to the ſucceſs of his own projects. Their preſent conduct, though adverſe to his views, commanded his reſpect. We have ſeveral examples of his forbearance and magnanimity, in forgiving acts of treachery, even where he might have looked for a faithful attachment: he was not likely to be wanting in the ſame ſpirit towards men, who openly refuſed to ſerve him from a regard to conſcience. Above all, it was his intereſt to conciliate every claſs: he knew the

hold theſe eminent men had on the public mind, and deſired by a popular act of grace, to ſecure their influence. He had no reverence for prelacy, which he aboliſhed in Scotland, though he deſired to maintain it in England. Moreover, he had a ſincere love for religious freedom. If he could obtain a repeal of the Teſt, and the admiſſion of all Proteſtants, whether Churchmen or Diſſenters, to offices of truſt, he would willingly diſpenſe with the oaths of the Biſhops. He endeavoured to attain both theſe objects by clauſes in the Bill for ſettling the new oaths. It was propoſed that the Biſhops ſhould be relieved from taking them, unleſs tendered by the King in Council, which would both ſatisfy their conſciences, and give him an effectual reſtraint on their conduct, if at any time they ſhould interrupt the peace of his government. This project was fruſtrated by the mutual animoſity of parties in the two houſes; the Tories would not abandon the Teſt to favour the Diſſenters; the Whigs retaliated by rejecting the clauſes in favour of the Biſhops. The only boon obtained was an authority to the crown to reſerve for their uſe one third part of their revenues, after they were deprived. The Act finally required the Clergy to take the oath by the firſt of Auguſt, 1689, on pain of ſuſpenſion from their offices: if they continued to refuſe till the firſt of February, 1690, they were to be abſolutely deprived.

The news of this Act having paſſed reached Ken in his Dioceſe, where he had been engaged, as uſual, in the calm and zealous exerciſe of his paſtoral duties.* It made no change in his views or conduct. The lay

* Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii. p. 267.

power might affect the temporalities of his See; but could not annul his spiritual office. It is true, the Church by being engrafted into the State is endowed with secular immunities, privileges and revenues: these are temporal accessories, and may be withdrawn by the power which conferred them. The statute,* subjecting the Clergy to the King's authority, amongst other provisions, places the nomination of Bishops in his hands, and none can be chosen or consecrated without his sanction. The State, which framed the oath of allegiance, to be taken by all English Bishops and Clergy, had equal right now to enforce a like security: but no secular authority could ever depose them from their authority in the word and sacraments.

The maxims of politicians, lawyers, and Erastian writers, lay or clerical, on this point are simply null. The State, not having the power to confer Holy Orders, can neither suspend nor abrogate them. What, indeed, is the suspension of their exercise, but their virtual annulment? If the civil power is competent to to this in one country, it is so, in its degree, throughout the world; and then where are the Apostles, and all missions, where is the Church Catholic, until Constantine? The spiritual trust is derived from a Commission above all earthly rulers, and therefore inalienable by any other sentence than that of the Church. For secular offences the Clergy may be punished by the magistrate; for spiritual offences the Church alone, by due synodical act, can deprive Bishops of their spiritual office. This mutual affinity of Church and State ex-

* 34 Henry VIII.

ifts under their feveral well defined limits. It has for its object the maintenance of true religion, and through that the glory of God, and the welfare of all people. Neither the Crown, nor Parliament, of England can enact articles of belief, nor even the ceremonials of religion, without confent of the Clergy in Convocation; nor can one, or both, repeal thefe fpiritual offices, which are committed to Chrift's fervants, confecrated by His command.

Ken, therefore, purfued his quiet courfe in the performance of his office. He filled up the vacant benefices, where he had the right to prefent; and collated to others.* He confidered the day of death, and the day of judgment, to be as certain as the 1ft of Auguft, and the 1ft of February, and acted accordingly: † his account was to be rendered to a higher than any earthly tribunal. We never find him making loud avowals of principle, nor even entering into any public defence of his conduct, except once or twice when fome particular emergency compelled him; and then it was always in a few words of fact. He fays in one of his letters, "I find it much eafier filently to endure the paffion of others, than to endeavour to mitigate it." Such was the temperatenefs of his views, that he was ftated in one of the anonymous pamphlets of the day to have "been heard to declare that, although he could not fatisfy his own fcruples, yet he thought the Englifh nation would be fools, if ever they fuffered King James

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 28.

† Defence of the Profeffion, &c. of Lake, Bifhop of Chichefter, 1690, p. 9.

to return; and hence it was concluded that he heartily wished he could be of the same mind with the rest of his brethren." * This was disproved by a long life of voluntary suffering, which he might at any time have changed for his former state of honour and affluence. He was in friendly intercourse with Sancroft and the other nonjuring Bishops, though he could not entirely concur with them: and several of the Prelates who took the oaths endeavoured to persuade him to follow their example. From the former, he says, "I differed in some things, but without breach of friendship, endeavouring to act uniformly to the moderate sentiments, which I could not exceed:" with the latter it was impossible he could agree; though he gave them credit for acting conscientiously.

Two of his nonjuring friends, the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester, were soon called away from the troubles that were gathering round them. Their dying declarations may be taken as the index of his own willingness to suffer any extremity, rather than compromise his duty. Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Worcester, having called Dr. Hickes to his bed side, spoke thus to him; "Mr. Dean, I was glad when I heard you was come home, for I longed to speak with you before I dyed; for I perceive that I have but a short time to live. I bless God that I have twice suffered in the same righteous cause, and it is time for me now to dye, who have outlived the honour of my religion, and the liberties of my country. It hath been a great comfort to me in this general apostacy of my Clergy,

* State Tracts, vol. ii. p. 360.

whom I have endeavoured to keep upright and ſteady to their principles, that you have not forſaken me, but keep conſtant with me to the ſame principles. I have read all the books written for taking the oath; in which I find the authors more Jeſuits than the Jeſuits themſelves: and if my heart deceive me not, and the grace of God fail me not, *I think I could burn at a ſtake, before I took this new oath.* I pray God bleſs you, and reward your conſtancy. I deſire your daily prayers."*

Dr. Lake, of Chicheſter, declared himſelf ſtill more emphatically, and in writing:

"Being called by a ſick, and I think, a dying bed, and the good hand of God upon me in it, to take the laſt and beſt viaticum, the Sacrament of my dear Lord's body and blood, I take myſelf obliged to make this ſhort recognition and profeſſion:

"That whereas I was baptized into the religion of the Church of England, and ſucked it in with my milk, and have conſtantly adhered to it through the whole courſe of my life; and now, if ſo be the will of God, ſhall dye in it: and *I had reſolved, through God's grace aſſiſting me, to have dyed ſo, though at a ſtake.* And whereas that religion of the Church of England taught me the doctrine of non-reſiſtance, and paſſive obedience, which I have accordingly inculcated upon others, and which I took to be the diſtinguiſhing character of the Church of England, I adhere no leſs firmly and ſteadfaſtly to that, and in conſequence of it have incurred ſuſpenſion from the exerciſe of my office,

* Life of Kettlewell, 8vo. 1718, p. 199.

and expected a deprivation. I find in so doing much inward satisfaction, *and if the oath had been tendered at the peril of my life, I could only have obeyed by suffering:*

"I desire you, my worthy friends and brethren, to bear witness to this upon occasion, and to believe it, as the words of a dying man, and who is now engaged in the most sacred and solemn act of conversing with God in this world, and may, for ought he knows to the contrary, appear with these very words in his mouth at the dreadful tribunal: manu propriâ subscripsi.

"JOHANNES CICESTRENSIS."*

We cannot say how these two devoted men would have acted in the after differences of the nonjurors, had they lived: but their last words spoke the mind of Ken, not only in their resolve against the oath, and their attachment to the Church of England, to which he afterwards bore equal testimony in his own memorable will, but also in their adherence to the doctrine of *Passive obedience.* The publishing their death bed avowals added yet more intensity to the disputes already so rife on this dogma: it was thought to be a direct reproach to those who had taken the oath, and called forth the whole pamphleteering forces of the press, which teemed with a phalanx of Animadversions, Defences, Sermons and Letters from all sides.

Passive obedience and Non-resistance were avowed

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* Dr. Jenkins's Defence of the Profession, which the Right Rev. late Lord Bishop of Chichester made upon his death-bed, &c. 1690, p. 7.

principles in theology and politics, not in England only, or the times of the Stuarts, but throughout the univerſal Church, as a practical Chriſtian duty, inculcated by the law of the Goſpel. Endurance of wrongs, forbearance, gentleneſs, peace, ſubjection to the powers that be, are eternal laws of the Croſs, and as ſuch, bound upon all men, lay or clerical. But beyond this, it was an eſſential tenet, almoſt univerſally received in England after the Rebellion. A ſpecific oath, enforcing the doctrine, had been incorporated into ſeveral Acts of Parliament in the reign of Charles II.* and ſo late as 1675 the Houſe of Lords paſſed a Bill, making it imperative on every one, inveſted with office, to take an oath, which was called the 'Oath of Abhorrence againſt the traiterous poſition of taking arms againſt the King.'" †

The principle of Paſſive obedience, whether right or wrong, was recognized, not by the Clergy only, but by all eſtates of the realm. It was, in fact, a political maxim, highly in faſhion after the reſtoration of the monarchy,—a recoil from the republican theories, which had gained head under Cromwell. It exemplified the ſudden extremes which will find expreſſion, when the body politic is ſmarting under by-gone wrongs. Viewed with proper reſtrictions, it is a wholeſome principle of government, — taken without limits, it is utterly untenable. Sancroft by his own conduct had proved it impracticable on a ſudden emergency: when James fled from London he hurried into the city, and agreed with the Council of Peers in deſiring the Prince

* Rapin, vol. ii. pp. 628, 629. † Ibid. p. 677.

of Orange, then at the head of an invading army, to take measures for the safety of the kingdom. He and Ken, and the other Bishops, were willing to concur in a Regency, though it would have been an unquestionable blow against the prerogative, and an abandonment of the abstract principle of Passive obedience. To what precise point Ken professed this doctrine we are not told: in his letter to Burnet, he says, "it was a point with which I very rarely meddled."* We have already seen that, when James was at the height of his power, he practically withstood it: but when it was altogether cried down, and he would have been a gainer by absolving himself from it, he could not alter his judgment of its binding force.

To show how easy it was for men to disavow, when it was unpopular, the doctrine they had upheld, when in vogue, we need only point to the case of Dr. Tillotson. At the condemnation of Lord William Russel, in 1683, for the Rye House Plot, Tillotson was Dean of Canterbury, and a personal friend of his: as such he attended him to the scaffold. During his previous visits to him in the Tower, he found that Lord Russel was so great a lover of truthfulness, that he preferred to die a martyr to his principles of liberty, rather than acknowledge the doctrine of Non-resistance, which he did not hold. It was thought, if he yielded this point, Charles would grant him a pardon: but Russel was immoveable. The Dean, on the other hand, held that the Christian religion plainly forbids the resistance of authority, and as one of Lord Russel's spiritual com-

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 33.

forters he thought it eſſential to his true repentance before death, to acknowledge this. Ruſſel had received the Sacrament in a calm and devout temper; but Tillotſon, under the apprehenſion that his peace of mind was not well grounded, wrote him a letter, as more likely to weigh with his deliberate thoughts than a tranſient diſcourſe.

"The law," he ſays, "which eſtabliſhes our religion declares *that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever to take up arms*," &c: "the law of nature, and the general rules of Scripture, tie the hands of ſubjects: becauſe the government and peace of ſociety could not well ſubſiſt, if they were left at liberty: *this is the declared doctrine of all Proteſtant Churches.* And I beg your Lordſhip to conſider how it will agree with an avowed aſſerting of the Proteſtant religion, to go contrary to the general doctrine of the Proteſtants. My end in this is to convince your Lordſhip that you are in a very great and dangerous miſtake, and being ſo convinced, that which before was a ſin of ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous nature, as in truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep repentance; which if your Lordſhip ſincerely exerciſe upon the ſight of your error, by a penitent acknowledgment of it to God and men, you will not only obtain forgiveneſs of God, but prevent a mighty ſcandal to the reformed religion."* If Tillotſon's creed, under the Stuarts, was grounded on this law of nature, the rule of Scripture, the Chriſtian religion, and the declared doctrine of all Proteſtant Churches, what be-

* Birch's Life of Tillotſon, pp. 109, 110.

came of his friend William's title to the Crown, founded on an usurpation which overthrew them all? But when James was driven from the throne, the Dean was to be Archbishop of Canterbury: that could never have been, unless he yielded up his principles of non-resistance, which he accordingly did.

The same change had come over the political vision of Burnet. In the time of Charles, when the Stuarts were in the ascendant, the Doctor was a champion for Passive Obedience; but when it became convenient to wear the Orange scarf, and be made Bishop of Salisbury, he was a very Knight errant against every comer who should uphold that principle. No doubt Ken had an eye to both these Prelates when he wrote thus to Burnet; "many persons *of our own coat*, for several years together preached up Passive Obedience to a much greater height than ever I did, and on a sudden, without the least acknowledgement of their past error, preach'd and acted the quite contrary." *

There is no ground for denying to Tillotson the right of adopting new opinions; only let our good Bishop, and his suffering Brethren, enjoy an equal liberty of conscience in maintaining theirs unchanged, at the sacrifice of every worldly advantage. And let the truth be understood, that Passive Obedience was the rule, not the exception in the previous reigns.

To return to the Oath of Allegiance: there were moments when Ken had misgivings as to the correctness of his own views in rejecting the new oath. This may serve to exemplify the difficulty of the question,

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 33.

and the candour of his mind, which did not obſtinately diſregard the reaſons to be adduced on the other ſide. The deeds of fearful cruelty perpetrated in Ireland by James, and the aſſiſtance of armed forces lent him by Louis, cauſed a report to be ſpread that he had by a ſpecial inſtrument given over that country to France. This appears to have made Ken waver: he thought ſuch an act would for ever diſſolve the bond of union between James and all his ſubjects. Burnet ſays he came with his Chaplain to London, and reſolved to go to the Houſe of Lords and take the oaths. He afterwards received a letter from Burnet, expreſſing great concern that his ſtanding out againſt the allegiance to William "was likely to prove fatal to the intereſts of the Church, as depriving them of one, who had ſerved it with ſo much honour, eſpecially at a moment when there were fair hopes of reforming ſeveral abuſes." He charged him with having adviſed others to take the oath which he refuſed himſelf: "others have told me they read a Paſtoral Letter, which you had prepared for your Dioceſe, and were reſolved to print it; but when you went to London, your Lordſhip, it ſeems, changed your mind." Ken writes in reply:

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD."

"My Lord, I am obliged to your Lordſhip for the continued concern you expreſs for me, and for the kind freedom you are pleaſed to take with me; and although I have already in public fully declared my mind to my Dioceſe concerning the Oath, to prevent my being miſunderſtood; yet ſince you ſeem to expect it of me, I will give ſuch an account, which if it does

not satisfy your Lordship, will at least satisfy myself. I dare assure you, I never advised any one to take the oath; though some who came to talk insidiously with me may have rais'd such a report: so far have I been from it, that I never would administer it to any one person, whom I was to collate. And therefore before the act took place, I gave a particular commission to my Chancellor, who himself did not scruple it; so that he was authorized, not only to institute, but to collate in my stead. If any came to discourse with me about taking the oath, I usually told them I durst not take it myself. I told them my reasons, if they urged me to it, and were of my own Diocese: and then remitted them to their study and prayers for further direction. I did prepare a Pastoral Letter, which, if I had seen reason to alter my judgment, I thought to have publish'd; at least that part of it, on which I laid the greatest stress, to justify myself to my Flock; and before I went to London, I told some of my friends, that if *that* proved true, which was affirmed to us with all imaginable assurance (and which I think more proper for discourse than a letter) it would be an inducement to me to comply: but when I came to town, I found it was false; and without being influenced by any one, or making any words of it, I burn't my paper, and adher'd to my former opinion."

Burnet in his letter had said that "some were so severe as to say that *other motives than conscience were at the bottom of his refusal:*" to which Ken replies, "if people who are very discerning, and know my own heart better than myself, have pronounc'd sentence upon me, that there is something else than conscience

at the bottom; and if your Lordſhip gives credit to the many miſrepreſentations which are made of me, and which I being ſo us'd to, can eaſily diſregard, you may reaſonably enough be in pain for me: for to ſee one of your Brethren throwing himſelf headlong into a wilful Deprivation, not only of honor, and of income, but of a good conſcience alſo, are particulars out of which may be framed an idea very deplorable. But though I do daily in many things betray great infirmity, I thank God I cannot accuſe myſelf of any inſincerity; ſo that Deprivation will not reach my conſcience, and I am in no pain at all for myſelf. I perceive that after we have been ſufficiently ridicul'd, the laſt mortal ſtab deſign'd to be given us is to expoſe us to the world as men of no conſcience; and if God is pleaſed to permit it, His moſt holy will be done; though what that particular corrupt nature is, which lies at the bottom, and which we gratify in loſing all we have, will be hard to determine."

He could not cloſe his letter to Burnet, who exerciſed a powerful and pernicious influence in eccleſiaſtical matters, without an appeal to him on behalf of the Church of Scotland. Its fate had been already decided, and was at the date of this letter in the very act of being accompliſhed. Ken ſays, "I heartily join with your Lordſhip in your deſires for the peace of this Church; and I ſhall conceive great hopes, that God will have compaſſion on her, if I ſee that ſhe compaſſionates and ſupports her ſiſter of Scotland. I beſeech God to make you an inſtrument to promote that peace, and that charity; I can myſelf only con-

tribute to both by my prayers, and by my deprecations against schism, and against sacrilege.

"THO. BATH AND WELLS."

"October 5, 1689."

This letter exhibits the moral habit of Ken's mind, a simple courage, ready for every trial in the line of his duty,—"*in no pain at all for himself;*"—a tender conscience, and willingness to retract any erroneous opinions, — a candid regard for the honest scruples of others who might differ from him. Of all this we have about the same time another striking instance in what passed between himself and his old friend Dr. Hooper. He was staying at Hooper's house, in Lambeth, shortly after the Revolution; the general subject of conversation was the Oath of Allegiance, and submission to the new government, to which Dr. Hooper earnestly endeavoured to persuade the Bishop.* "On parting one night to go to bed, the Bishop seemed so well satisfied with the arguments Dr. Hooper urged to him, that he was inclined to take the Oaths." † But the next morning he used these expressions to him;—"I question not but that you, and several others have taken the oaths with as good a conscience as myself shall refuse them; and sometimes you have almost persuaded me to comply by the arguments you have used; but I beg you to urge them no further; for should I be persuaded to comply, and after see reason to repent, you would make me the most miserable man in the world." ‡ Upon which the Dr. said he

* Prowse's MS. Life of Hooper. † Ibid.

‡ Hawkins, p. 30.

would never mention the ſubject any more to him, for God forbid he ſhould take them." *

Sancroft, and the other non-juring Biſhops, were much alarmed, leſt Hooper's influence might induce Ken to take the oath. Turner writes to the Archbiſhop on Aſcenſion Day, 1689, "when I took my leave yeſternight I had no thought of waiting upon you till this day ſen'ight; but when I came home I found a letter to Mrs. Gregg from the Bp. of B. and W. and this advertiſement in it for me. 'Tell my friend I will meet him at dinner at Lambeth, upon Sunday.' I ſuppoſe he does not know Your Grace has left off dining publicly, as you have great reaſon to do. But ſince, my Lord, you are pleaſed to give every one of your ſons a day, as you obligingly expreſs it, I muſt needs ſay, the ſooner we meet our brother of Bath the better, for I muſt no longer in duty conceal from your Grace, tho' I beſeech you to keep it in terms of a ſecret, that this very good man is, I fear, warping from us, and the true intereſts of the Church of England, towards a compliance with the new Government. I received an honeſt letter from him, and a friendly one, wherein he argues very wrong to my underſtanding, but promiſes and proteſts he will keep himſelf diſengaged till he debates things over again with us, and that he was coming up again for that purpoſe. My Lord Biſhop of Norwich has ſeen ſuch another letter from him to my Lord of Glouceſter; and upon the whole matter our Biſhop of Norwich, if your Grace thinks fit, will meet us on

* Prowſe's MS. Life of Hooper.

Saturday. I muſt needs wiſh my Lord of Chicheſter would be there to help us; for it w^d be extremely unhappy ſhould we at this pinch loſe one of our number. I apprehend that parſon of Lambeth has ſuperfined upon our brother of B. and W. and if he lodges again at his houſe, I ſhall doubt the conſequence, for which reaſon I'll come over on Saturday morning to invite him to my country houſe."

As the time drew on for his deprival, the people of his Dioceſe became more deeply affected at the thought of loſing their revered Paſtor. His zeal for their welfare, and his mild and loving government of them, were the more valued, the nearer their danger of loſing him. The Clergy therefore united in an earneſt Petition to the King on behalf of himſelf, the Archbiſhop, and the other Prelates under cenſure, praying that "they might not be deprived of their revenues and dignity, but reſtored to the adminiſtration of their functions." It ſets forth "the great reaſon the Petitioners had to bleſs God for thoſe their eccleſiaſtical Governors, by whoſe ghoſtly wiſdom and directions they have been all along greatly edified, and by whoſe religious conduct and exemplary conſtancy they were, through the providence of God, ſo lately preſerved in perilous times, and for whoſe ſufferings and imminent dangers they were then deeply afflicted. We cannot but entertain ſo much filial tenderneſs and dutiful affection for them, as paſſionately to entreat that the Church may not ſuffer ſo great a loſs as to be deprived of them, nor they be wholly excluded from the comforts of the great deliverance which we owe to your Majeſtie, to which they, by a generous and ſeaſonable

expoſing themſelves for the common ſafety, did eminently contribute."*

If this ever reached the King's hands, it was not likely to carry much weight. The queſtion of the deprivals reſted on other grounds: like every thing elſe, it was to be teſted and reſolved by political expediency. William calmly held the balance between the oppoſite weights of party; of whoſe violence we may form ſome notion from the heat and rancour of the pamphlets which were conſtantly appearing. Many buſy perſons, and eſpecially thoſe who rejoiced in any attack on the Church, endeavoured to inflame the public againſt the Biſhops. Still their cauſe rather gained ground at Court, as well as in the country. William had already been galled by the oppoſition of his former friends: he ſaw amidſt the jarring elements of political ſtrife the ſelfiſhneſs that made the general intereſts ſecondary to the perſonal objects of each. Contraſted with this, the conſcientious ſcruples of the Non-jurors, however, in his opinion miſtaken, ſeemed to claim indulgence. He was convinced that, if they could be conciliated, they would greatly promote the ſtability of his Government. When he firſt came over to England, he could have known little of Epiſcopacy, except in the Roman Catholic form, which was moſt repugnant to his ideas: allowance is to be made for early prejudices, which were afterwards modified by his intercourſe with the Engliſh Biſhops.† When he diſ-

* Bowles, vol. ii. p. 194.

† Trevor's Life of William, vol. ii. p. 84.

solved his first Parliament, early in 1690, Lord Clarendon says, "several of my friends were with me in the afternoon, and told me the King had declared himself for the Church of England, and had given public encouragement to all gentlemen, who took leave of him upon going into the country to choose Church of England men."* At the opening of the new Parliament, he declares in his speech, penned by himself, that "the Church of England is one of the greatest supports of the Protestant religion in general, for the defence whereof I am ready again to venture my life."†

The Queen was firmly attached to the Church; she had a personal regard for Ken, her former Chaplain at the Hague, and the highest esteem for Sancroft's character. Notwithstanding all questions, "the Archbishop was permitted to continue at Lambeth Palace, where he maintained the same attendance and splendour of establishment he had formerly done; and during the whole of this period he constantly received visits from the nobility, and others with whom he had lived in habits of intercourse, and was treated with marks of respect by persons of every rank."‡

The 1st of February, 1690, was already past, within which the law required the Clergy to take the new oath of allegiance to William: still no measures were adopted against the Bishops to enforce the penalty: they were left in quiet possession of their revenues, in the hope that they might come round. But an inci-

* Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii. p. 299.

† Trevor's Life of William, vol. ii. p. 88.

‡ Doyly's Life of Sancroft, vol. i. p. 449.

dent occurred ſoon after, likely to injure them in the judgment of all lovers of peace. A day of national faſt had been proclaimed for the 12th of March; to be repeated on the third Wedneſday of every month, for the ſucceſs of the forces in Ireland. Special prayers were appointed for the perſonal ſafety of William, who was to take the command. Either ſome Roman Catholics, or ſome violent Jacobites, took this occaſion to diſtribute many thouſand copies of a form of prayer for King James, as a ſubſtitute for the other. It does not mention him by name; but the whole tenor of the paper ſufficiently expoſed its real object. Amongſt other things, it prays, "Reſtore to us the public worſhip of thy name, the reverend adminiſtration of thy Sacraments; raiſe up the former government both of Church and State, that we may be *no longer* without King, without Prieſt, and without God in the world. Send forth thy light and thy truth, and let them preſerve us. Protect and defend thy ſervant, our Sovereign Lord the King. Be thou unto him a helmet of ſalvation, &c. Give him the neck of his enemies, and alſo every day more and more the hearts of his ſubjects. As for thoſe that are implacable, clothe them with ſhame; but upon himſelf and his Poſterity let the Crown flouriſh."*

The prayers would ſeem to bear internal evidence of being penned by a Roman Catholic: they ſpeak of reſtoring public worſhip, and the reverend adminiſtration of the Sacraments, which in the Engliſh Church had never been ſuſpended; and inſinuate that the na-

* State Tracts, vol. ii. p. 95.

tion had no longer a Priesthood, which was obviously untrue, as applied to any other than the Romish Church, whose worship, and Sacraments, and Priesthood had all been suppressed. The Bishops, however, were accused by party writers of being the authors or abettors of this new Liturgy. They did not think it necessary to put forth any denial of the charge, until the appearance, some months afterwards, of a scurrilous pamphlet, which included this accusation, with others still more improbable.

The title was 'A MODEST ENQUIRY into the present disasters: and who they are that brought the French fleet into the English Channel describ'd.' It was full of outrageous charges against the peaceful Bishops, who are called "the Reverend Club of Lambeth," "the Holy Jacobite Club," "our high flown Passive Obedience men," "the Œcumenick Council of the whole party, &c." The author was incontestably a furious dissenter. He attacks the Prelates (more misliked for their Prelacy than their persons) because they would not take the oath; but is equally scandalized at the Clergy who did, and whom he accuses "of cheating the world with ridiculous and foolish distinctions, and playing fast and loose with Almighty God." In another part, speaking of the Clergy as a class, he calls them "wretches, great contrivers and managers of cabals, who by their Profession are for the most part extraordinarily credulous." He triumphantly reminds the Bishops, whom he calls "our High Priest, and the rest of the *Gang*," of their "*beloved power to trample on the Dissenters, who are now out of their clutches.*"

This energetic writer calls the new prayers "the great guns" of the Biſhops—who were "marſhalling a great many of King James' officers and caſhier'd gentlemen," and "levying no inconſiderable ſums of money for a final inſurrection." Amongſt the collectors for the "Holy Club," "there muſt be *one Fellow* that eat King William's bread," (meaning Ken at the Hague) and "one of his arts was to perſuade ſilly old women to tell down their duſt for carrying on ſo pious a work," namely, "to work a mine under ground, in order to a general aſſault."

But "the great gun," which theſe ſoldiers in lawn were "thus furiouſly playing," was no leſs than inviting over the French King, and holding conſtant correſpondence with Monſieur de Croiſie. The Modeſt Enquirer gives a copy of a ſuppoſed addreſs to Louis XIV. ſent over by our high Prieſt and the reſt of the gang, which he ſays "was diſcovered of late by a certain perſon." It begins, "Great and invincible Monarch! The reſplendent rays of your Majeſty's virtues have render'd all the world your adorers! and that inherent goodneſs of which your Majeſty ſtands ſo tranſcendently poſſeſt, does render you the only ſanctuary of all the diſtreſt:" &c. &c.

We need not follow the libel much farther: but it deſerved a notice for the ſake of the anſwer put forth to it. The writer's object ekes out in his ſuggeſtion that the Biſhops ſhould be "*De Witted*," — that is treated in the ſame way as the De Witts, whom the mob at Amſterdam had maſſacred in 1672, dragging their bodies about the town, on the falſe charge of a plot againſt the life of William, ſoon after he had been

elected Stadtholder. Hence the offensive term came to be well understood in Holland and England to mean massacred. "The truth is," (says the Modest Enquirer) "it is a wonder, the English nation, upon the affront that has befallen them, in being forced to turn their backs to the French at sea, have not in their fury *De Witted* some of these men, who have brought all this upon us. And I must tell them that the crimes of the two unhappy brothers in Holland (which gave rise to that word) were not fully so great as some of theirs."

The pamphlet made a great noise; and as the Form of Prayer, or New Liturgy, with other grave charges, were thus openly brought against the Bishops, it behoved them, as lovers of peace, to give an unqualified denial. Ken, at least, was no member of the imaginary "Lambeth Club." He had remained, where he most loved to be, in his Diocese, except for short intervals, when his advice was required by his Brother Bishops. Indeed about this time he appears to have been drinking the Bath waters:* but came to town on the present emergency, and the following paper was quickly decided upon, and published under the title of a

"VINDICATION, &c."

"Whereas in a late pamphlet, entitled 'A Modest

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* "The R^t. Rev^d. Thomas Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells drank the waters at the King's Bath 1690, in the month of Sept. and received benefit.

"Orlando Pain, being troubled with a filthy leprosy, sent to the Bath, and maintained there by Thomas Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells all the winter, 1690: in 14 weeks' use of the hot and lepers Bath received cure." Thomas Guidott, Register of Bath, containing an account of cures, &c. 2nd Ed. 1724, p. 377, 378.

Enquiry into the caufes of the prefent diftreffes, &c.' we, whofe names are hereunto fubfcribed, are among others reprefented as the authors and abettors of England's miferies; and under the abufive names of the Lambeth Holy Club, the Holy Jacobite Club, and the Œcumenick Council of the whole Party, are charged with a third Plot, and with the compofing of a new Liturgy, and ufing it in our cabals; and whereas the Clergy, fuch of them as are ftyled malcontents, are faid (together with others) to have prefented a memorial to the King of France, to perfuade him to invade England; and are alfo affirmed to have kept a conftant correfpondence with M. de Croiffy in order thereunto.

" We do here folemnly, *as in the prefence of God*, proteft and declare.

" 1. That thefe accufations caft upon us are all of them malicious calumnies, and diabolical inventions; that we are innocent of them all; and we defy the libeller, whoever he be, to produce, if he can, any legal proof of our guiltinefs therein.

" 2. That we know not who was the author of the new Liturgy, as the libel calls it; that we had no hand in it, either in the club, cabal or otherwife; nor was it compofed, or publifhed by our order, confent, or privity; nor hath it been ufed at any time by us or any of us.

" 3. That neither we, nor any of us, ever held any correfpondence, directly or indirectly, with M. de Croiffy, or with any minifter or agent of France: and if any fuch memorial, as the libel mentions, was ever really prefented to the French King, we never knew

anything of it, nor anything relating thereto. And we do utterly renounce both that, and all other invitations suggested to be made by us, in order to any invasion of this kingdom by the French.

"4. That we utterly deny, and disavow all plots charged upon us, or contrived or carried on, in our meetings at Lambeth; the intent thereof being to advise how, in our present difficulties, we might best keep consciences void of offence towards God and towards man.

"5. That we are so far from being the authors or abettors of England's miseries (whatever the spirit of lying and calumny may vent against us) that we do, and shall to our dying hour, heartily and incessantly pray for the peace, prosperity and glory of England; and shall always, by God's grace, make it our daily practice to study to be quiet, to bear our cross patiently, and to seek the good of our native country.

"Who the author of this libel is we know not: but whoever he is, we desire, as our Lord hath taught us, to return him good for evil: he barbarously endeavours to raise in the whole English nation such a fury, as may end in *De Witting* us (a bloody word, but too well understood). But we recommend him to the Divine mercy, humbly beseeching God to forgive him. We have all of us, not long since, either actually or in full preparation of mind, hazarded all we had in the world in opposing Popery and arbitrary power in England: and we shall by God's grace, with greater zeal again sacrifice all we have, and our very lives too, if God shall be pleased to call us thereto, to prevent Popery, and the arbitrary power of France, from coming

upon us, and prevailing over us; the perſecution of our Proteſtant brethren there being ſtill freſh in our memories. It is our great unhappineſs that we have not opportunity to publiſh full and particular anſwers to thoſe many libels, which are induſtriouſly ſpread againſt us. But we hope that our country will never be moved to hate us without a cauſe, but will be ſo juſt and charitable to us, as to believe this ſolemn proteſtation of our innocency.

"Signed W. Cant.
W. Norwich.
B. Ely.
Tho. Bath and Wells.
Tho. Petreburgh."

Printed in the year 1690.

The Modest Enquiry was extenſively circulated, and may be found in the 2nd vol. of State Tracts, and yet the Biſhops were refuſed a licenſe to publiſh their Vindication. The rulers of the day, ſo loud in praiſe of liberty, would not permit any indulgence, or freedom of the preſs. Sancroft complains of this in one of his letters. "We are daily oppreſſed in our conſciences, in our propertie, and in our libertie, contrary to our old laws, and even their own too, while Papiſts, Quakers, Arians, and Hereticks, of all ſorts are free. When a bloody rabble were (in print) encouraged to tear us in pieces, there was no more notice taken of it, than if the country-people had been getting together to diſpatch a wolfe, or a mad dog: and the Government were ſo far from protecting us, y^t they would not ſuffer us to defend ourſelves. You know what objections (I might ſay cavils) were rais'd againſt the ſhort and modeſt Vindication; ſo in fine we could

not get it licens'd to the press; and you remember how barbarously we were used for it afterwards." *

It is hardly worth while to show the severity exercised towards the Nonjurors, and the measures taken to seize their publications in the printing houses, and break up the press; one instance, from Sancroft's letters may however be given. "To suppress our books, and oppress (instead of answering) those that write them, and to destroy the very press itself too, is like the cruelty forbidden by Moses, to destroy not only the eggs, and young ones in the nest, but the Dam also that sits upon them. It is a great comfort that the last Bird which was hatched there (of the true noble Eyrie, and a gallant high Flier) is fledg'd and flown, and will fill the whole forest with such notes, of which the Pies and Daws (that like it not) will never be able to drown the music." † He alludes to Henry Dodwell's "Vindication of the Deprived Bishops."

Though the Government refused a license, the Bishops succeeded in getting their Vindication printed. It soon found its way to the public, and to their convictions: for it gained implicit credence, and brought confusion on the author of the injurious pamphlet. It gave the Bishops an opportunity of bringing home to people's minds their former sufferings, and how they had hazarded all in opposing Popery and arbitrary power. The false charge against them, as generally happens when an accusation is proved to be malicious, resulted in a fuller persuasion of the purity of their motives in the matter of the oath.

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* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters. † Ibid.

Finding that all claſſes, except the enemies to the Church, were anxious ſome meaſure ſhould be deviſed to excuſe them from the Oath, the Government did what they could towards it. The Biſhops of London and St. Aſaph had before been ſent to the Archbiſhop "to know what he and the reſt would do to prevent being deprived: could they take no ſteps towards the Government? ſome expedients they propoſed, as that a Bill ſhould be paſſed, giving the King power to diſpenſe with the Oaths during pleaſure." Again, ſome months later, taking with them the Biſhop of Bangor, they delivered another meſſage from the King, that "he would continue them in their Sees, and not put any others in their places; that they ſhould enjoy their revenues, and that the King would make their Receivers his Receivers, to collect and pay the rents to themſelves."† Burnet alſo was now again ſent by the Queen to a nobleman, who had great credit with the deprived Biſhops, "to try whether, if Parliament could be brought to diſpenſe with their taking the Oaths, they would go on, and do their functions, ordain, confirm, aſſiſt at prayers and Sacraments, give inſtitutions, and viſit their Dioceſes."‡ Surely nothing could be more reaſonable than ſuch a propoſal: for, as Burnet ſays, "theſe are the great duties of the Epiſcopal Function; and it ſeemed an extravagant thing to have Biſhops in a Church, who ſhould perform none of them, but ſhould only live in their Sees, and enjoy their revenues."§

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* Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii. p. 297. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 299.
‡ Biſhop of Sarum's Vindication, p. 102. § Ibid. p. 103.

Had Ken's moderate counſels prevailed, this propoſal would have been accepted. Throughout the whole controverſy he advocated meaſures of peace: "I confeſs," he ſays, "I never was for extremities, which I ſoon thought would prove of fatal conſequences; but I find that others, who always were and ſtill are for them, think but hardly of me." * — The Archbiſhop was influenced by Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, and White of Peterborough. Looking upon William as an Uſurper, and James ſtill as head of the Church, to whom only they could pay any homage, they gave an anſwer fatal to the Church's intereſts: they ſaid "they would do nothing: if the King thought fit, for his own ſake, that they ſhould not be deprived, he muſt make it his buſineſs; they could not vary from what they had done. And beſides they were not now all together; and therefore they could make no other anſwer." †

Ken had returned to Wells: like the needle to the loadſtone, he was always drawn to the ſphere of his Dioceſe: and he would now make the moſt of the ſhort time which the law would probably allow him. His diligence and zeal were untiring, ſo long as he was permitted to act. He maintained his friendly relations with the Clergy of his See (however much he differed from them as to the Oaths, which almoſt every one of them had taken) and ſtill more he laboured among the meaner of his flock, who had none of theſe vexed queſtions to ſettle. After two months the nobleman, to whom Burnet had been ſent (the Earl of

* Round, p. 59. † Clarendon's Diary, vol. ii. p. 299.

Rocheſter) told him that "he had obeyed the Queen's commands with zeal, and all the ſkill he had; but the Biſhops would anſwer nothing, and promiſe nothing, only he believed they would be quiet. So all thoughts of bringing that matter again into Parliament were laid aſide; yet their Majeſties proceeded in it ſlowly, and ſeemed unwilling to fill their Sees."*

But a ſtorm was gathering in a quarter that Ken could leaſt expect: towards the end of this year his earlieſt friend, Francis Turner, was drawn into a ſcheme which nothing could juſtify or palliate: he had engaged, with Lord Preſton, and many other malcontents, in a plot un-Engliſh and un-Chriſtian; no leſs than to bring back King James by aid of a French army, which muſt have ſpread deſolation through the country. Turner had but lately diſclaimed all thoughts of French intervention: he had declared his only deſire was "to keep a conſcience void of offence, to ſtudy to be quiet, and to bear his croſs patiently." It is unaccountable that he ſhould ſo ſoon forget all theſe profeſſions, and compromiſe his own character, and that of his Brethren?

It is vain to aſſert, that this plot was but pretended. The proofs are irrefragable that the ſcheme was deeply laid; and had it been accompliſhed, confuſion and bloodſhed were the certain reſults. The Government being appriſed of the conſpiracy, Lord Preſton, and one Aſhton, were ſeized on their paſſage to France, and a packet of letters for King James was found upon them: amongſt others, were two from the Biſhop of Ely, in which he ſays "I ſpeak in the plural, becauſe

* Biſhop of Sarum's Vindication, p. 104.

I write my elder brother's ſentiments, as well as my own, and the reſt of the family, though leſſen'd in number."* Burnet ſeems to admit that Turner wrote without any authority from the Archbiſhop,† who might, however, have ſympathized in the object: as for "the reſt of the family" (meaning the other Biſhops) no one for a moment ſuſpected Ken. Many noblemen, even of thoſe who had been William's early adherents, were engaged in the plot. The Biſhop of Ely abſconded for a while, and in ſpite of a Proclamation, and a reward offered for his diſcovery, eluded purſuit. Writing of this to Lloyd, Sancroft in his ſprightly way gives us ſome notion of Turner's remarkable phyſiognomy, which he was afraid would betray him. "Your Lordſhip whiſpered ſomething in my ear, about a fort'night ſince, concerning our good Brother Francis of Ely, which makes me tremble whenever I think of it. For tho', as Biſhop Lancy (who was much in London during the great Rebellion) was wont to ſay, "London is a great wood, where he that would hide himſelf may moſt probably be concealed; yet our friend is a very remarkable perſon, and one univerſally known and acquainted; and ſhould he traveſt himſelf into what habit he will, or ſpread a Patriarchal Beard, or cover all with any ſort of Peruke you can fancy; ſtill there will be ſomething that may diſcover him. Not of late only, but of old, the παράσημον of the veſſel, the ſign by which 'twas known, was in the Prow, or *Beak:* Acts 28. 11. The only

* State Trials, vol. xii. p. 715.

† Biſhop of Sarum's Vindication, p. 98.

comfortable reflection in this caſe is, that God can hide whom he pleaſeth in the hollow of his hand, or in the ſecret of his preſence; and though the King and his Miniſters ſought Jeremiah, and Baruch to take him, yet the Lord hid him. May it be ſtill ſo with our Friend." *

Turner and the others owed their ſafety to the characteriſtic calmneſs of William, who overlooked the treaſon of profeſſing friends, and open foes. Lord Preſton, tempted by a pardon, was examined in the King's preſence. He named amongſt his aſſociates the Duke of Ormond, Lords Dartmouth, Macclesfield, Brandon, and Mr. Penn the Quaker; and added that Penn told him that, although Lord Dorſet, and Lord Devonſhire had not attended the Conferences, they were of the party. He offered to name others of the great Whig families. Lord Caermarthen, who had formerly, and lately, been perſecuted by that party, eagerly puſhed him on, bidding him go to the bottom of the Conſpiracy. But the King, who ſtood behind Caermarthen's chair, and was then leaning over it, touched him upon the ſhoulder, ſaying 'My Lord, there is too much of this;' and with equal prudence and generoſity drew a veil over offences, into which the beſt of his ſubjects had been too haſtily betrayed." † It was a rare inſtance of clemency: whether it were the dictate of foreſight, or the impulſe of generous magnanimity, it deſerves to be held in honour. One of William's diſtinguiſhing qualities was a diſregard of

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

† Dalrymple Memoirs, p. 467.

praiſe, which he generally ſet down to the ſcore of flattery; another was, indifference to the diſlikes of men, which he always aſcribed to their own intereſts. The nature of men who have been long and intently engaged in political ſtrife becomes ſelfiſh; but William, though he ſeldom ſhowed any tenderneſs of heart, or refinement of feeling, was at leaſt free from the ſtain of vindictiveneſs.

We cannot be ſurprized that this event ſhould ſeal the deprival of the Nonjuring Biſhops. They had rejected all the overtures made to them; and the late conſpiracy convinced the government that the oath of allegiance, to be taken by all who held places of truſt, was a neceſſary precaution for the public ſafety. Nevertheleſs, one more attempt was made to compromiſe. It was propoſed early in April, 1691, that the Biſhops ſhould make a declaration of innocence in the matter of the late conſpiracy, and that a part of their revenues ſhould be ſtill allowed them. This was intimated to White, of Peterborough, who promiſed that he and Lloyd would conſult the Archbiſhop, Ken not being in London. Sancroft thus records his views: "1ſt. I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould declare anything concerning a ſurmiſe, which is ſo far from affecting us, that 'tis not as yet prov'd upon the Bp. of Ely.—So that, ſhould we fall a-declaring and purging ourſelves, before we are charg'd in form, men and angels will hardly be able to pen anything, that will not be liable to a hundred cavills, and in fine prove a ſnare to us. 2nd. As to the regaining any of our revenues, 'tis *ſpes improba* to expect it can ever be; and to be ſure not without petitioning, which will be another great ſnare; and at

laſt be peremptorily deny'd (wh nobody I think is in love with) or clog'd with ſome curſed condition, which will leave us in a worſe condition than we were in before we ſtirr'd in it: not to conceal what the Bp. told me (I think from the ſame Gent) that our revenues are already iſſued out of the Exchequer into the privy purſe, and from thence to a certain vertuous Ladie, '*et ab inferno nulla redemptio.*' While we were together, the Bp. of London came in, and we were all two hours together. *O quantùm mutatus ab illo Hectore!* ſo kind and debonaire, and ſo obliging, that it would have pleas'd you to obſerve it. But what paſt may be apt of our converſation to-morrow, if Tho. of P. can prevaile with you to come. In the mean time and ever I remain

"Your's moſt unfainedly

"April, 91." "W. C." *

As nothing could move the Biſhops from their purpoſe, a liſt was made of their intended Succeſſors. Sancroft had accurate intelligence of what was paſſing at Court. Writing again to Lloyd he ſays, "Yeſterday St. Aſaph, and Teniſon, having dined with my Lord Clarendon in the Tower, came hither in the afternoon. I ſoon ſaw in the Biſhop's ſolemn gravity what news he was big with: but ſtaved him off for half an hour with common diſcourſe, as briſk as I could contrive it. But at laſt, out it muſt come; and then I let him ſee that I knew more than he knew, or at leaſt pretended to know: though Teniſon confirm'd all my particulars. Your liſt is right through-

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

out, add only that Talbot (the Earl of Shrewſbury's brother) is Dean of Sarum. Yeſternight the Bp. of London,* knowing nothing of theſe promotions, was ready to enter the Council Chamber, when a friend pull'd him by the ſleeve, and ſhow'd him the whole ſcheme; whereupon he retreated. Our abſent Brethren without all doubt will know the preſent Reſolutions taken againſt them (and ſo will all England) before our letters can come to them; nor do I affect to be the teller of ill news; tho' ſome others do, as it ſeems by what I wrote a little before. When they know it, it will be beſt, I think, to leave their coming up, or not, to their own reſolutions; eſpecially till we have reſolved ourſelves (with the Dr's. advice) that we may have ſomething to propound to them.

† "In the mean time I am ever

"Your faith. Friend and Brother

"W. C."

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* Compton, who expected to be made Archbiſhop.

† Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Ken is deprived of his Biſhopric — Makes a public aſſertion in Wells Cathedral of his canonical right, and retires — His Poverty — Lord Weymouth affords him an aſylum at Long Leat.

THE deprivals of the Non-juring Biſhops, which had been delayed for a year beyond the limits of the act, were at length permitted to take their courſe. Dr. D'Oyly gives the particulars of Sancroft's ejection from Lambeth. In the caſe of Ken, ſome months' delay ſtill intervened, from the difficulty of finding any one who would accept his Biſhopric. It was firſt offered to Dr. Beveridge, one of the moſt pious and learned of the clergy, who, though he had taken the oaths to William and Mary, had the higheſt reverence for Ken's character, and held that a lay deprival was beyond the limits of the civil power, and therefore uncanonical. He deliberated for three weeks, and then ſtedfaſtly refuſed the appointment.*

Sancroft, who was very unforgiving towards any who took the oaths, doubted the ſincerity of Beveridge's ſcruples. Writing to Lloyd on the 28th of

* "Tribus Septimanis meditando Epiſcopari noluit." Kennett's Collections. Lanſdown MSS. 987.

April, 1691, he says, "yesterday Dr. B. was with me, and gave me a long account of his aversenes from accepting the See of B. & W. because the Bp. is his old friend, &c: and then askt my advice. I having first told him, 'if I should give it, you will not follow it,' yet did give it plain words, and backt it with reasons, that I think might be sufficient. But I believe they'll have noe effect upon him: for all was but a copie of his countenance. You shall have all that passed on Friday, or when we meet next."*

As late as the 30th of May, Sancroft expresses his "wonder that the severity goes not on to our poor Brother of B. and W. I am afraid he cannot long escape it." And again, "'tis a wonder nothing is done against our good Brother of B. and W. But I am afraid that at last *tarditatem supplicii atrocitate ei compensabunt*. For they are very stoicks: *nesciunt misereri, vel parcere*."† At length the Bishopric was offered to Dr. Richard Kidder, Dean of Peterborough, a learned Hebrew scholar, and a man of blameless life. He also entertained scruples, and for some time declined to succeed a deprived Bishop. He did not agree with Beveridge in thinking it unlawful; but he "knew very well he should be able to do less good, if he came into a Bishopric void by deprivation." He has left us a full record of his difficulties. "I received," he says, "a letter from Dr. Tillotson, to announce that the Queen had nominated me to Bath and Wells. I was, upon the reading of it, in such trouble and consternation, as I have seldom been in during my whole

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters. † Ibid.

life. I ſaw the ſtrait I was in. If I took this Biſhopric, I well knew I muſt meet with great trouble and envy. If I refuſed, I knew the conſequence of that alſo, eſpecially Dr. Beveridge having ſo lately done it. After ſome days I return'd my anſwer, and 'twas to this effect; that unleſs her Majeſty would excuſe me, and think of ſome other perſon, I would accept the biſhopric. And this I did, not perhaps as wiſely as I ſhould. I cannot ſay I did it againſt my conſcience; but of this I am ſure, that ſince I have conſidered things better I ſhould not have done it, were it to do again. I did not conſult my eaſe. I have often repented of my accepting it, and looked on it as a great infelicity." *

Ken ſoon received intelligence of the appointment. "Dr. Kidder is now ſaid to be my ſucceſſor, or rather ſupplanter. He is a perſon of whom I have no knowledge. God of his infinite goodneſs multiply his bleſſings on yourſelf, and on my good friends with you, and enable us to do and ſuffer his moſt holy will." He was then on his way to his nephew, Izaak Walton, Junior, at Poulſhot, who had taken the oaths: "to his houſe I am now, God willing, going for ſome time, partly for my health, partly to avoid that cloud under which I lye (and chiefly from my brethren, God forgive them for it) as having done all that is proper for me to doe to aſſert my character, the doing of which has created me many enemies, as I expected it would." † This is in alluſion to the cenſures of his

* Bowles, vol. ii. p. 211.

† Round's Proſe Works of Ken, p. 42.

over zealous brethren, the other deprived Bishops, because he had continued to exercise his functions.*

On the other hand, amidst the rumours that were afloat, some were led to say that he had failed in properly asserting his pastoral rights at the time of his deprival. Burnet charges this against them all, and Sancroft in particular: "he never took upon him to act with his archiepiscopal authority. He never stood upon his right, nor complained of wrong in any public act or protestation."† And again "he never by any public and express act declared himself; and all the rest followed his example, and continue to this day silent." This is incorrect, as applied to Ken: we have his own denial of the charge, addressed to the Rev. Mr. Harbin.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD."

"Good Mr. Harbin,

"You tell me that Mr. Pitts censures the deprived Bishops for not asserting their rights in a public manner at their deprivation. If he puts me among the number, he does me wrong; for I, at the time, *in my cathedral*, which was the proper place, *from my Pastoral Chair, publicly asserted my canonical right, professing that I esteemed myself the Canonical Bishop of the Diocese, and that I would be ready, on all occasions, to perform my pastoral duties.*

"I professed that not being able to make this decla-

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* "Kennus interim exauctoratus munus episcopale aliquandiù exercere ausus est, conciones palàm habendo, et pueros in Ecclesiis confirmando." Landsdown MSS. Brit. Musæ. 987.

† The Bishop of Sarum's Vindication, p. 97.

ration to the whole dioceſe, I made it virtually to all by making it in the *Market Square*. What others of my brethren did I know not; but I acted as uniformly as I could. God keep us in his holy fear.

"Your affectionate friend and brother,

"T. B. AND W.*"

Thus it was he took leave of his people: the ſame crowds, who but ſix ſhort years before had welcomed him to the Paſtoral Chair, now aſſembled with heavy hearts, and tearful eyes, to hear him from the ſame place of authority aſſert his canonical rights, conſecrated, as they had been, by a zealous and devoted exerciſe of them,—to receive his farewell bleſſing, and his promiſe of never-ceaſing prayers on their behalf. How endeared to his flock muſt ſuch a man have been, living conſtantly amongſt them! how unſpeakably valuable his endeavours, "according to his poor abilities, to teach them the knowledge and the love of God."† By his example and counſels he had been a ſolace to the afflicted, and the ſupport of humble ſouls, overwhelmed with the burthen of conſcious ſin; to all a ghoſtly father, benefactor, and friend; God's almoner, and the diſpenſer of His grace.

There may be ſomething poetical, but not therefore leſs true, in the picture which Mr. Bowles has drawn of the Biſhop's departure from his palace. "We can eaſily conceive with what prayers of the poor, and how beloved and regretted, Ken bad farewell to the

* Round's Proſe Works of Ken, p. 44.

† Dedication of the Practice of Divine Love.

Diocese and flock so dear to him, to the Palace at Wells, the retired gardens, and the silent waters that surrounded them; to the towers, and to the devotional harmonies of his Cathedral. Surely it would be no stretch of imagination to conceive, that, on the drawbridge, as he passed, on leaving the abode of independence and peace, a crowd of old and young would be assembled, with clasped hands and blessings, to bid him farewell. Mild, complacent, yet dignified, on retiring with a peaceful conscience from opulence and station to dependence and poverty, as the morning shone on the turreted Chapel, we naturally imagine he may have shed only one tear when looking back on those interesting scenes. Perhaps his eye might have rested on the pale faces of some of the poor old men and women who had partaken their Sunday dinner so often, and heard his discourse, in the old hall: then, and not before, we may conceive,

> "Some natural tears he dropp'd, but wiped them soon,
> The world was all before him, where to seek
> His place of rest, and Providence his guide."*

Dr. Kidder was consecrated on the 30th of August, 1691, and in September following went down to Wells, and was installed in person. Meanwhile Ken had withdrawn, being satisfied to have made his public protest from the Pastoral Chair in his Cathedral, and at the Market Square. Having dedicated his all to charity, he had made no provision for himself: he had literally fulfilled the command of his heavenly Lord,

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* Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. ii. p. 174.

"take no thought for to-morrow." Hawkins ſays, "his charity was ſo extenſive, and he had ſo little regard to future contingencies, that when he was deprived by the State, *all his effects, by the ſale of his goods*, excepting his books (which he never ſold) would amount to no more than ſeven hundred pounds."* It is a rare example of ſimple faith: the beſt of us are fearful of being dependent; to lay by ſomething ſeems due to ourſelves, and to friends whom we ſhould have to rely upon in caſe of abſolute need. But Ken had ſaved nothing: he had given away all but the furniture of his palace, and ſome horſes that were indiſpenſable for his journeys.

The world might think his poverty the hardeſt part of his lot, — his voluntary ſubmitting to this, rather than yield his principles, the ſureſt mark of his devotedneſs. It was in truth the leaſt of his cares. Deeper wounds cauſed his ſufferings, for they reached him through the boſom of the Church. The ſchiſm, occaſioned by the uncanonical deprivals, and his being forced of neceſſity to leave his people to the guidance of a "Traditor," were his real anguiſh. The general laxity of diſcipline, and the neglect of ſervices, — the Eraſtian principles, which had already begun to prevail in the Government of the Church, and have gone on encreaſing to this our day, were harder to endure than his expulſion from hearth and home. Poverty fell light upon him; for he had lived ſecretly poor in the outward ſtate of a palace, chaſtening his deſires by

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 22.

habits of mortification and self-denial. They only suffer from the loss of luxuries, who have trained themselves to the use of them. Ken had followed the footsteps of his Master, mortifying his appetites in the midst of abundance; he seemed to enjoy a nearer approach to him, now that he was going forth without a place he could call his own.

But God had provided for him "a covert from the tempest, the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." He put it into the heart of Viscount Weymouth to bear him a message of comfort—the offer of a home in his noble mansion of Long Leat. This was his former College companion, Thomas Thynne, who had been since raised to the peerage by Charles II. Their affection for each other was founded on a kindred piety, the surest basis of all friendship, and so had strengthened through after life. In his youth Lord Weymouth had for his tutors Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Fell: it is sufficient praise of him to say that the pupil was not unworthy of the preceptors. He and Ken had acted in concert, when they endeavoured to maintain the rights of James, joining with other Peers in the Protest against his dethronement. Long Leat was not above twenty miles from Wells: part of the domain is within the diocese; and Lord Weymouth had the happiness to persuade his deprived Bishop to make that his final resting place. He doubtless felt that the presence of the holy man would bring a blessing on his household; and Ken, whose heart was wounded within him, could not refuse the solace of such an asylum. There, for twenty years, he experienced Wey-

mouth's untiring kindneſs. Towards the cloſe of life he gave expreſſion to his affectionate gratitude in dedicating to him his volumes of Poetry;

> "When I, my Lord, cruſh'd by prevailing might,
> *No cottage had where to direct my flight;*
> Kind Heav'n me with a Friend illuſtrious bleſt,
> Who gives me ſhelter, affluence, and reſt.
> Whoſe ſhades benign to ſacred ſongs invite,
> Who to thoſe ſongs may claim paternal right.
> Rich as he is in all good works below,
> May he in heav'nly treaſure overflow." *

To relieve the Biſhop from any ſenſe of dependence, it was arranged between them that Lord Weymouth ſhould receive his ſeven hundred pounds, and give him an annuity of eighty pounds a year. This "ever to be acknowledged generoſity of his noble friend, and eminent benefactor, procured him the enjoyment of a clear payment of twenty pounds a quarter," † ſufficient, with his moderate deſires, to place him out of reach of the world's vexations.

Mr. Markland obſerves that "various incidental notices in the letters of the Biſhop, and Dr. Smith, prove this nobleman to have been one of the moſt amiable and benevolent of men. Dr. Smith ſays, 'my Lord governs himſelf by true principles of Chriſtianity, and keeps firm in his memory the words of the Lord Jeſus, preſerved by St. Paul, *it is more bleſſed to give than to receive.*' The Biſhop replies, 'the good lord does really conduct his life by the

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* Ken's Poems, vol. i.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 34.

divine maxims, recorded by St. Paul, and he is truly rich in good works, and indeed so are his near relatives; *munificence seems to be the family virtue, and traduced* (continued) *to their posterity.*'"*

Long Leat House, deserving rather the name of a palace, rises amid natural slopes and hills, crowned with hanging woods; the ornamental gardens, enriched with plants brought from every climate, are still arranged in the antique fashion in which they probably existed at the time of Ken. Endless walks and rides are cut through the woods: they offer at each turn some fresh bower of solitude, or opening of the landskip. These "shades benign," as Ken calls them, might well give him rest: they abound in every requisite for the peaceful abode of a "Retired Christian."† There, too, he might indulge his "great relish for Divine Poesy:" and we know that "under this noble lord's roof he composed many excellent, useful, and pious pieces:" for "he applied himself so happily to this favourite entertainment, as thereby in some measure to palliate the acuteness of his pains, and may give full satisfaction to his readers by promoting their chief happiness, to the Glory of God the Giver."‡

On his way to the parish church of Horningsham, how often from the top of the hill, through a break in the woods, must he have overlooked the prospect, called, from its almost unearthly richness, the "Gate

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* Markland's Life of Ken, p. 85.

† A little book with this title is one of the many works erroneously attributed to Ken.

‡ Hawkins, p. 24.

of Heaven." It may have prompted that paſſage in his poems,

> "Soon as thou haſt a bliſsful glance,
> It will thee wholly ſo entrance,
> Thou, like the Bleſſ'd, will nothing love
> But God above."

Of the old church at Horningſham, juſt without the park paling, only the tower remains: all the reſt has been lately re-edified by a hand, never weary of doing good. It is reſtored on true principles of ancient eccleſiaſtical architecture, with a triple chancel, of ample proportions, maſſive oaken roof, ſupported by carved angels, ſide ſcreens, and painted windows, alſo a richly carved altar, font, ſtone pulpit, *and abundant room provided for the poor.*

The only companions of his removal from Wells to Long Leat were his beloved books: "theſe he never ſold;"—Under every aſpect of his fortunes, they were companionable friends: though mute, they diſcourſe to us moſt movingly, for they addreſs themſelves to every faculty of our minds. The charm of muſic paſſes away with the air that breathes its melody: out of books we gather the abiding harmonies of thought and reaſon, philoſophy and virtue. They are friends, not only enhancing other joys, but ever creating freſh ones; lightening and beguiling us of our ſorrows; friends they are who never forſake us; if the world frowns, they do not turn from us, but open out new ſources of comfort: if the world ſmiles, and we love its blandiſhments, they whiſper to warn us of the danger. If we grow weary of their company, and lay them aſide, they take no offence; they wait on our conve-

nience, bear with our waywardness, are content to be neglected, and prompt to renew the acquaintance.

An incident is mentioned by Hawkins, in regard to the Bishop's library, which marks the character of the man. Though he could not bear to sell these treasures, he loved to give many away. There was something so exuberant in his goodness of heart, it would not be satisfied, if others did not participate in his possessions, whatever they might be. Most men are looking out for gifts—he with a child-like instinct was for ever emptying his lap among all around him. Formerly, to encourage his clergy "in catechizing, he furnished them with a stock of necessary books for the use of children."* So, for their own use, out of his library "he had given large catalogues (i.e. collections) of books to places that were populous, and had parochial libraries within his diocese." This was before his deprival: and now that he was about to leave them, he did the same.† A parting gift is not less precious because made in sorrow. These books were a farewell of friendship, and would always be a memorial of past pleasure and comfort, derived from the confidence and attachment of his clergy, and their zealous aid in his pastoral labours for the common good. They, on the other hand, received them as a token of his constant love, a pledge that they would live in his memory, as he assuredly would in theirs. It was in this spirit that he gave them his parting blessing.

The room which he inhabited at Long Leat is at the top of the house, far removed from the noise and

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* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 14. † Ibid. p. 23.

buſtle of the noble hall, ſo well known as the ſcene of old Engliſh hoſpitality, "thoſe feſtivities of a Palace" (as his friend, Dr. Smith, ſays) "open to all comers of faſhion and quality."* It is an apartment of moſt ample dimenſions, filled with books, of which ſome were his own, and others belonging to Lord Weymouth; the overflowings of the great library below. In this retirement he lived, and wrote hymns, and ſang them to his viol, and prayed, and died. His principal companion was probably Mr. Harbin, the family Chaplain, of whom he often makes mention in his letters. It is allowable to thoſe who love his memory to ſay, this upper chamber, and the walks and gardens, woods and glades, which he frequented, give a hallowed character to Long Leat; for there he paſſed the laſt twenty years of his life. He made occaſional viſits to Iſaac Walton, Junior, the Rector of Poulſhot, and other friends who loved and revered him. Now and then he was in London, ſometimes at Wincheſter, Bath, Briſtol, &c. but Long Leat was the principal witneſs of his future trials, his temptations, and his diſquietudes. Theſe laſt were to follow him, wherever he might go: for what refuge of peace, what ſtillneſs or ſolitude, what ſhades of retirement, can ſcreen us from the companionſhip of our cares? We bear about with us our own burthen, which every man muſt ſuſtain: it is indeed the very channel of conſolation to the truſtful, as bringing us nearer the ſympathy of Chriſt, who carries our griefs in His own boſom. Ken knew how to caſt his at the foot of the Croſs, which alone could eaſe them.

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* Round's Proſe Works of Ken, p. 90.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Ken refuses to concur with Sancroft and other Non-jurors, in extreme measures—His moderate views and conduct—Disapproves of clandestine consecrations to perpetuate the Schism—Attends the services of the Church.

THE schism inflicted on the Church by the new government in the uncanonical appointment of intrusive Bishops was the source of Ken's sorrows. In his view Princes are called "Christian," as being subject to the spiritual empire set up in the world. If *they* govern, as under God, certainly Bishops, consecrated to their office, and ministering, by the same divine authority, testify to Christ's visible kingdom on earth. If His high prerogatives cannot be annulled, from which all others flow, by what right may Princes cancel the spiritual trust committed to His servants? It needs the concurrence of the Church, founded for His glory, and for no ends of self-interest, ere a hand can be laid on the holy building "fitly joined together, Christ himself being the head." The noblest privilege granted to Kings is to be nursing fathers of the Church: not for themselves, nor for *their* sakes who minister her Sacraments, nor for any thing that belongs to a perishable world; but for His sake who made them Kings, and can and does *un*-make, at the very moment

of their higheſt ſecurity. If there be divine myſteries, they ſurely pertain to a Kingdom above the rule of Princes, and it were better they ſhould be lowly in their own preſence chambers, than run the hazard of an after award for injuries inflicted on God's Church. The invaſion of ſpiritual offices, being a ſacrilege, has in it ſomething peculiarly awful, and pointing to the account which Princes, and their counſellors, muſt one day render of the truſt committed to them.

When new Biſhops were obtruded into the Sees of the deprived, a Schiſm was the reſult. It certainly led to latitudinarian principles, a relaxed diſcipline, neglect of the ſervices of religion, and a deadneſs of faith,—of all which we are to this day reaping the bitter fruit. Had theſe conſequences been foreſeen to their full extent, it is probable Tillotſon, Burnet, and the other influential adviſers of the King, would have cordially united to prevent any invaſion of the ſpiritual offices: this does not leſſen their reſponſibility in prompting the temporal power to ſever ties which were ſacred.

Another grievous trial to one ſo loving and charitable was the ſerious difference of opinion, which ſoon ſprung up, and was afterwards prolonged, among the Nonjurors themſelves. Ken at once foreſaw the fatal conſequences of this, and did all he could to prevent it. For himſelf, being virtually ſhut out from the public exerciſe of his office by an act of the ſtate, not grounded upon, or involving any hereſy in matters of Faith, he deſired, ſo far as he could, to be paſſive. He looked upon his ſucceſſor as a ſchiſmatical Biſhop, a "traditor of his flock;" but not as incapable of a

valid miniſtry. Having, therefore, at his deprival, publicly aſſerted his own canonical right, he left to Kidder the reſponſibility of his intruſion, being careful only not to aggravate its effects.

He did not lack the courage of St. Baſil, if it could have availed to ward off the ſchiſm, or had there been any means of maintaining his juriſdiction: but the clergy of his Dioceſe having taken the oaths, he did not pertinaciouſly challenge their obedience. He ſeems always to have practiſed the mortification of his own will; not only in outward acts of ſelf-denial, that are ſoon formed into habits, and may even miniſter to a ſubtle complacency, but in a lowlineſs of ſpirit, miſgiving its own ſtrong impreſſions, which few men love to forego. He thought it more for the intereſts of religion to ſuffer in ſilence what he could not prevent, than to widen the breach, and encreaſe the ſcandal, by an active oppoſition. He felt no reſentments againſt thoſe who took the oaths: ſome of his moſt intimate friends were of the number, and he never withdrew from their ſociety. He could not reſign his claims: but for fear of promoting greater diviſions, and hurrying his flock to extremes, he did nothing that might relax the diſcipline of his Clergy under another Biſhop.

He did not feel himſelf juſtified in at once ceding his office: that would have been an acknowledgment of the lay power to invade the ſpiritual: his duty was to be a ſtanding witneſs to the inviolable ſanctity of the Epiſcopate. He had many illuſtrious examples in the early Church againſt yielding the truſt committed to him: it was not his to ſurrender into unauthorized

hands. But he had alſo examples of eminent Biſhops to warrant his avoidance of conteſts by ſubmitting, for the ſake of charity, to a forced ejectment. — He conſidered "the peace of the Church to be of that importance, that it ought to ſuperſede all eccleſiaſtical Canons, they being only of human, not divine, authority." *

Sancroft, Lloyd, Turner, and White of Peterborough, took an oppoſite courſe, no doubt from equally conſcientious motives: but the reſult, as he prophesied, proved adverſe to the intereſts of religion. They held that, not only the Biſhops of the Province of Canterbury, intruding into the Sees of the deprived, were ſchiſmatical, but the whole national Church! In the Province of York there was no deprival, — therefore no intruſion. How, then, could the canonical rights of thoſe Biſhops be queſtioned, when the metropolitan and all his ſuffragans (of whoſe due conſecration no doubt could exiſt) acted unanimouſly? They were ſuppoſed guilty of ſchiſm by contagion, becauſe they communicated with the ſucceſſors of the deprived in the other Province! they no longer appertained to the Church Catholic, of which the Nonjurors were the only true members!

If ever there was an occaſion which proved the hopeleſſneſs of controverſy it was this. The mere liſt of eminent men, diſputing the imputation of ſchiſm, and the duties of churchmen, conſequent on the lay deprivals, would ſuffice to ſhow what a maſs of learning was brought to bear on theſe queſtions. We have a

* Round's Proſe Works of Ken, p. 50.

catalogue, in Bishop Lloyd's handwriting, of 120 tracts, pamphlets, and books which issued from the press on both sides to settle this, and the various other controverted points.* The scriptures, old and new, the histories of the primitive ages, of the Roman and Greek Churches, of France, Spain, and England, afforded innumerable facts, illustrating the main arguments: each in its turn was claimed by the combatants as triumphant authority on their own behalf. Such is theological controversy. Ken thought obedience, and lowliness of mind, plain good sense, charitable judgment, and a patient abiding in faith and prayer, were safer guides to truth and Christian brotherhood, than all the learning of the schools: the surest sacrifice of his own will.

If the State deprivals inflicted a blow on the unity, and therefore on the efficacy, of the Church, it was aggravated by the consequent acts of the leading Nonjurors. Sancroft, Lloyd, Turner, and White, assuming that the whole Church of England was in schism, determined, as far as in them lay, to make it perpetual. The Archbishop had already delegated his powers to Lloyd of Norwich, whom he appointed his Vicar General for all Archiepiscopal offices. It does not appear that he did so by authority from James, as head of the Church de jure: certainly he never asked leave of William, as King de facto. Not content with this, they determined to consecrate Suffragan Bishops, who might continue, what they called, a "canonical succession." This was to be done secretly, to avoid the

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

penal conſequences to themſelves; but it required, as they thought, the ſanction of James. They ſent over Dr. George Hickes, Dean of Worceſter, to St. Germains, with a liſt of the Non-juring clergy, from which two Prelates were to be ſelected. James conſulted the French Biſhops, and the Pope,* who juſtified the meaſure: he referred the choice to Sancroft and Lloyd; the former named Dr. Hickes, who was accordingly made Suffragan of Thetford, and the latter Thomas Wagſtaffe, who was appointed Suffragan of Ipſwich. Both places were in the Dioceſe of Norwich. But Sancroft died before the meaſure could be completed, therefore they were conſecrated to their offices by Lloyd, Turner, and White, on the 23rd February, 1694.†

Surely this had in it more zeal than wiſdom. The conſecrations, being clandeſtine, and moſt carefully concealed for many years, were no public witneſs to the truth.‡ The appointment of Suffragans being always made in caſes of neceſſity, for maintaining the ſervices and diſcipline of the Church, that object could not be promoted by the ſecret conſecrations, for it was expreſsly provided that the Suffragans ſhould forbear to act, until failure of the deprived Biſhop of Norwich,§ who lived fourteen years afterwards.

They never notified their titles, put in their pleas, nor claimed or exerciſed any rights within their viſionary ſpheres of juriſdiction. If the lay authority

* Lathbury's Hiſtory of the Non-jurors, p. 99.
† Ibid. p. 103. ‡ Ibid. p. 103.
§ Life of Kettlewell, 8vo. p. 340.

would not permit the Bishop of Norwich himself to fulfil his office, how would it tolerate the intrusion of Suffragans, in all respects less lawfully appointed? The whole scheme was the creation of an honest, but ill-regulated zeal. Serviceable ends are often a delusion: men may run counter to the very religion they desire to preserve; and never more so than when they go out of His appointed way to serve and glorify Him. Hickes and others, consecrated to perpetuate orthodox ministrations in the Anglican Church, came at last to insist on a departure from her ritual, and alterations in the Communion Service: they started in a wrong direction to their object, and could not but end wider of the mark. No present practical good was effected; and having now wandered out of the old ways, they entangled themselves in a maze of error, from which only their death, and that of their successors, relieved the Church. Their Episcopate, having no real vitality, was sustained for a while by an exertion, and at length died out from mere feebleness.

Ken steadfastly refused to sanction the new appointments, which he called "a perpetuating of the schism." His principle as expressed to Mr. Robert Nelson, was that "the strength of innocence is to sit still, and the wisest and most dutiful way to follow, rather than anticipate, Providence."* He thought it best for the interests of all to abstain from any act that might widen, or continue, the breach. "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me." This

* Appendix to Kettlewell's Works, p. xxv.

for his part he was reſolved to do. Though he ſhould ſtand alone, he would adhere to the Church of England, *as he found her;* a faithful ſon of his ſpiritual mother, neither coming ſhort, nor going beyond her miniſtrations. He loved her as ſhe was: ſome might attempt to improve, others to aſſail her doctrines and ſervices: to him they were all ſacred. Though ſhe were in bonds, he might love and revere her, and abide her deliverance. In as much as he could not wait upon her, he left her to God's providence, knowing that in His hands were the times and ſeaſons. We ſhall ſee how this proved, in the end, the higheſt wiſdom: and he had his reward; for it was reſerved to him, ſome years afterwards, to heal the ſchiſm, which he had no hand in originating.

We are not left only to ſurmiſe his exact views: they are recorded in the few letters of his, which have been preſerved to us. Writing to Dr. Hickes, one of the moſt conſpicuous, learned, and intrepid leaders of the Non-jurors, he ſays, "I wrote to you long ago, to recommend to your ſerious conſideration the Schiſm, which has ſo long continued in our Church, and which I have often lamented to my brother of Ely, now with God, and concerning which I have many years had ill abodings. I need not tell you what pernicious conſequences it may produce, and I fear has produced already; what advantage it yields to our enemies."* Again, to the Biſhop of Norwich, "I am willing to allow all degrees of excuſeability to thoſe who are of a different perſuaſion from myſelf, in the buſineſs of clandeſtine

* Round's Proſe Works of Ken, p. 49.

consecrations, against which you know I always declared my judgment: *I foresaw it would perpetuate the Schism, which I daily deplore:* I thought it insidiously procured by Milford * for that purpose, who could intend no good to our Church; but I was forced at last to tolerate what I could not approve of." †

This is confirmed by the author of Kettlewell's Life: "not long after the Revolution, when some of the Non-jurors were very big with great expectations, Bishop Ken was much displeased that any should flatter themselves with vain hopes, and declared to me with great earnestness and concern, as under a sort of divine impulse, that it was then but the beginning of evils, with a pretty deal to that purpose. But notwithstanding that he could not himself comply with what, by the present settlement, was required of him, he had yet a very charitable opinion of many that did; and is known to have been against perpetuating a separation." ‡

The most distressing of all his difficulties was the question whether he could attend the public Communion of the Church. To one of so tender a conscience, whose whole life was dedicated to prayer, who in every stage of his ministerial office had evinced a lively zeal in maintaining the daily service, this was, indeed, an overwhelming question. Let any one read his "Practice of Divine Love," and then judge of the severe penance he was to inflict on himself in a volun-

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* The principal Popish counsellor of James at St. Germains.

† Round, p. 51.

‡ Life of Kettlewell, 8vo. p. 427.

tary interdict from the feaſt of Chriſt's precious Body and Blood, in public Communion with the Church, of which he was a conſecrated Biſhop. Hungry and thirſty, and longing after the riches of God's love, imparted in the Holy Supper, he was to decide whether he *ought* to be abſent from the temples, where it was ſolemnly celebrated. By the bleſſed Euchariſt his ſoul had been fed by His Lord who bought him at the dear rate of His own death. It is true the Apoſtles broke bread in an upper chamber, and from houſe to houſe; and in after times of perſecution aſſembled at the Holy Feaſt in any corner where they might find ſafety: yet it was expreſsly againſt the eccleſiaſtical canons for biſhops or prieſts to do ſo anywhere but in the public churches, if ſuch were open to them. Did the Schiſm, created by the lay deprivals, preſcribe his abandonment of a Communion, not tainted by any heretical doctrines? This was to be decided not for himſelf only, but for many others who looked to him as their ſpiritual guide. The queſtion involved not only his own Chriſtian privileges and perſonal growth from the means of grace, but the ſteadfaſt witneſs he was to bear to the ſanctity of the Epiſcopal office, violated in his perſon. He was not to indulge his own aſpirations, if they ſhould compromiſe the truſt committed to his ſtewardſhip.

What prayers and tears muſt have pleaded for right guidance in a queſtion of ſuch weighty moment! Weak he might be, and erring in judgment; but not to gain the whole world would he willingly offend His Maſter. What if he ſhould be wrong? what if his example became an occaſion of ſtumbling to others of weaker

judgment and less fervid piety, willing to use any plea for absenting themselves? If he held aloof from the public prayers, might he not promote a general defection? In his endeavour to maintain the sanctity of religion, might he not lead astray the poorer members of the flock, by seeming to justify their withdrawal from under the hand of their pastors, and so mar the progress of souls he had hitherto laboured to bring to Heaven? Ought he not to forego all scruples, and yield the strictness of antient precedent, rather than they should desert the Communion of the Church? These were fearful doubts to solve.

The public services of the Church now included new forms of prayer for William and Mary, which were called by the Non-jurors the "immoral prayers." If it were sinful to violate their oath of allegiance to James, they could still less join in supplicating God to prosper his enemies: this would have been a mockery of the most sacred services; an affront to Him Whose ear is attent in His holy place. But might he not go to church, and pass over the prayers for the King and Queen? Many of the Non-jurors did so; and when they came to those parts, they rose from their knees, or shut their books, or by some other marks, as omitting the "Amen," or other usual response, tacitly expressed their dissent: or in their own minds substituted the names of James, and his son. As on other points, so on this, there was a diversity of opinion among the Non-jurors. Hickes, and his zealous party, strongly denounced every one, whether of the clergy or laity, who should commit so immoral an outrage. Even if there had been no state prayers included in the services,

they profeſſed that to join in communion with ſchiſmatics was a flagrant betrayal of their principles.

The learned, devout, and moderate Kettlewell made a diſtinction between the Clergy, and Laity. He held that the Non-juring Clergy, whoſe place it was to afford miniſterial offices to others, need not themſelves have recourſe to the public prayers, becauſe if only two or three joined with them in private, they might miniſter in a holy aſſembly, and have Chriſt "in the midſt of them."* But the maſs of the people were unable, from the ſmall number of the rightful clergy, to have at their hands the offices of the Church. In that caſe "the neceſſity of public worſhip would juſtify their overlooking the faultineſs and obliquity of the ſchiſm; otherwiſe men's pious affections would unavoidably decay and go back, for want of communion."† "Such is the natural duty, and ſuch the neceſſity, and importance of public worſhip, that it is one of the greateſt viſible ſupports of religion, which without it would ſink and be in danger to fail in the earth."‡ Therefore in the abſence of rightful miniſters they might join in the ſervices of the pariſh churches. But then they muſt by ſome ſufficient external ſign manifeſt their diſlike of the "immoral prayers," when they occurred; — that is, make a diſtinction between them, and the truly good and holy ſervices. §

Such were Kettlewell's opinions, as expreſſed in his well known work of "*Chriſtian Communion.*" They

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* Kettlewell's Works, vol. ii. p. 635.

† Ibid. p. 637.

‡ Ibid. p. 638.

§ Ibid. p. 653.

were certainly the views entertained by Ken, in respect of the laity. These, he thought, might and ought to go to church. In his letters he notices the censures cast upon him by some of his Non-juring friends for holding this rule: he pleads, in answer, "the vexation created to tender consciences in the country where they live, banished from the public assemblies in the House of God." * And in another he says, "I find I am misrepresented by some of the brethren, and am charged with giving advices contrary to our Mother (the Church), whereas the only advice I have given was to recommend the two last Chapters of good Mr. Kettlewell's book to people's reading. I was always of his opinion, and wished that our brethren had not stated the question on higher terms; and *I approved of the book in manuscript.*" † And once more: "I never argued the case with lay people, but recommended to them the two last Chapters of Mr. Kettlewell's book, where it is truly and fully stated to my apprehension. Our brother of Ely, now with God, had the like thoughts, and gave the like advice to a worthy person, now near me in the country, who related it to me; and I always thought, and said, that stricter measures would be of fatal consequence to our Church, for which many of my brethren would never relish me."‡

It is not perfectly clear whether he himself only occasionally, or generally, attended the public services. The evidence is somewhat contradictory. On the one hand it is stated by Pitts, who knew him well, that

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* Round's Prose Works of Ken, p. 49. † Ibid. p. 58.
‡ Ibid. p. 60.

"he never forſook the public aſſemblies, but even officiated himſelf publicly, and communicated conſtantly." The word *never* is here certainly incorrect: but in one of his letters to Hickes he clearly intimates that he did ſometimes go to church. "Give me leave," he ſays, "to ſuggeſt that my brother of Norwich and myſelf ſhould reſign up our canonical claims, which would be the ſhorteſt way to put an end to the ſchiſm, and which I am ready to do for the repoſe of the flock. If this is not thought adviſeable, I recommend a circular letter to be penned and diſperſed, which ſhould modeſtly and yet reſolutely aſſiſt* the cauſe for which we ſuffer, *and ſpecify the reaſons which induce us to communicate in the public offices*, the chieſeſt of which is to reſtore the peace of the Church, which is of that importance it ought to ſupercede all eccleſiaſtical canons, they being only of human and not divine authority. A letter to this purpoſe *would make our preſence at ſome of the prayers* rightly underſtood, to be no betraying of our cauſe; would guard us againſt any advantage our adverſarys may take from our Chriſtian condeſcenſion; would relieve fundamental charity, and give a general ſatisfaction to all well-minded perſons. I offer this with ſubmiſſion, and out of a ſincere zeal for the good of the Church, and I beſeech the Divine Goodneſs to guide both ſides into the way of peace, that we may with one mind, and one mouth glorify God. Your moſt affectionate friend and brother,

7th March, 1700. "T. B. & W." †

This letter, taken by itſelf, would decide the point:

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* Qy. aſſert?

† Round's Proſe Works of Ken, p. 50.

but on comparing it with another addressed to Bishop Lloyd the doubt remains. In this he urges once more that "some expedient might be found out to put a period to the Schism: in anything of that nature he would gladly concur." He thinks "it had been happy for the Church had Mr. Kettlewell's state of the case been embraced." Then he adds, "I never use any characteristick in the prayers myself, nor am present where any is read: I have endeavoured to act uniformly to the moderate sentiments which I cannot exceed."* By this expression he meant that he never attended on solemn days of Thanksgiving or public Fasts, appointed by the government. Kettlewell and the majority of Non-jurors made a difference between these, and the ordinary services: they held that to be present on such special occasions, which were significant of a direct purpose,† was to profess allegiance to William, and therefore an act of dissimulation: but not so their attendance on the ordinary services, "when we come together to do God honour and service, and to seek supplies for all our own and others' necessities."‡

One other passage of a later date bears on the question: he says, "I shall spend this summer, God willing, most at Long Leat, though I am now very uneasy there; not but that my Lord is extremely kind to me, but because I cannot go to prayers there, by reason of the late alterations, which is no small affliction to me.

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* Round's Prose Works of Ken, p. 56.

† Kettlewell's Works, vol. ii. p. 652.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 55.

God keepe us in his holy fear, and make us wiſe for eternity." The meaning of this is, that Lord Weymouth, having for the firſt time taken office, on Queen Ann's coming to the throne, adopted the ſtate prayers in his chapel at Long Leat; and then it would appear that Ken ceaſed to attend the family ſervice. Perhaps he feared to have it thought that he alſo had changed his principles, whereas we have at that period his expreſs declaration that "nothing ſhould tempt him to any oath."*

It is not eaſy to reconcile theſe ſeeming differences of teſtimony: the balance of probability appears to be that at Long Leat he had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of pure ſervices, without alloy of the State prayers; but afterwards when theſe were adopted in the chapel, as they already had been in the Pariſh Church, he preferred the latter, as affording a more ſolemn worſhip. During his viſits to his nephew at Poulſhot, or when he was in other places, where he could not find any non-juring aſſembly, we may conclude, from what he himſelf ſays, that rather than be debarred the ſolace of Chriſtian communion he went to church.

At firſt, perhaps, when he was to make a ſtand for his principles, and claim of right, he kept entirely away from the public ſervices: but afterwards yearning for them, and ſeeing the evil conſequences of non-communion, he could not always refrain. In this he offended the ſturdy Non-jurors: but Nelſon, Dodwell, and others heartily ſympathized with him, and followed his example. What ought to have been his preciſe courſe

* Round's Proſe Works of Ken, p. 56.

under the particular circumstances, so imperfectly known to us, we may not presume to decide. If all changes are inconsistencies, this was one: but if any be disposed to censure, let him first exemplify the same peaceful and heavenly thoughts, in a life of equal sanctity and chastened will, and be content to suffer as patiently as Ken did; — then perhaps he may rightly appreciate the motives of this holy confessor of our Church.

Archbishop Sancroft died in 1693: his successor, Tillotson, within the year after; and so both rested from their troubles, and their differences. The measures of Government, adopted in the short Episcopate of Tillotson, and with his sanction, had a deadening influence on the Anglican Church. It is a fearful charge to be Primate of England, whose actings touch on things sacred, and in their consequence, for evil or for good, reach beyond his own short earthly span. One after another follows in the line of succession. Shall each, in confidence of his own views, presume to modify the teaching of the Church? If so, each Primate, differing perhaps from those before him, and those to come (since each man's mind is of its own character) will, to the extent of his influence, reduce her to a wavering and inconstant thing, swayed by every breath of human judgment. But the Church, like the Truth on which she is founded, is unchangeable. When an Archbishop sets his hand to a work of alteration, he undertakes what is beyond his power to limit, or control. He may sanction but one degree of deviation from the rule handed down to him: — how soon, or through whom, the next may be taken, is not within his range to foresee. But the responsibility

muſt be on him who led the way. There is ſomething fearful in this thought for Biſhops, as for Princes, and their counſellors.

Queen Mary ſhed tears for the loſs of Tillotſon. His funeral, however, was the cloſe forerunner of her own: a few weeks after ſhe was ſeized with ſmall pox, and died on the 28th of Dec. 1694, at the early age of thirty-two, in the fifth year of her reign. If the long poſſeſſion of a throne could ever ſuffice to ſweeten the remembrance of having ſupplanted an indulgent father, ſhe did not reap even this fruit of the uſurpation. It does not appear that ſhe ever aſked his forgiveneſs, or expreſſed contrition on her death bed.

James records his bitter ſentiments towards her. He hoped her death might give an opening for the reſtored rights of his ſon. Whereas (to uſe his own words) "All the King got by it was an additional affliction to thoſe he already underwent, by ſeeing a child, whom he had always cheriſhed beyond expreſſion, and loved ſo tenderly, perſevere to her death in ſuch a ſignal ſtate of diſobedience and diſloyalty, and to hear her extoll'd, and ſet out for it in the brighteſt colours, as the higheſt virtue, by the mercenary flatterers of thoſe times. Even that dull man, Dtr Teniſon, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who with his languid oration at her funeral rather diverted than edify'd the company, rank'd it amongſt her higheſt praiſes, that by long and laborious contradictions ſhe got the better of her duty to her parents, in conſideration of her religion and her country. Thus ſhe was canoniſed for a ſort of parricide, by uſurping her father's throne, and ſending him together with his Queen

and the Prince her brother, to be vagabonds in the world, had not the generosity of a neighbouring monarch receiv'd, entertain'd, and succor'd them, when their own subjects, and even children, had lost all bowels of compassion and duty." "If anything had been able to trouble the tranquillity which the King's resignation afforded him, this would have done it, especially when he heard his poor daughter had been so deluded as to declare at her death, that 'her conscience no way troubled her, — that if she had done anything which the world might blame her for, it was with the advice of the most learned men of her Church, who were to answer for it, not she:' this made the King cry out; 'O miserable way of arguing, so fatal both to the deceiver, and those that suffer themselves to be deceived!' She discover'd, it seems by this, her scruple and aprehention, yet blindly followed those guides, whose tragical end, as well as those who are guided by them, the Scripture itself warns us of." *

A sad epitaph this, to be written on a daughter's tomb by a father's pen, perhaps more severe than just. Among many recorded testimonies to her merit, is that of a most truthful servant of her's, who had an intimate knowledge of her character. This was Dr. Hooper, her Chaplain at the Hague, and ever afterwards much in her confidence. "He would often say that, in the time he attended her, he never saw her do, nor heard her say, a thing that he would have wished she had not." †

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* Clarke's Life of James II., vol. ii. p. 525.

† Prowse's MS. Life of Hooper.

On the death of Mary, laudatory ſermons were preached in many of the London and country churches. That by Archbiſhop Teniſon at Whitehall, was the "languid oration of that dull man," which ſo much diſpleaſed King James; it alſo drew down upon him many ſevere comments from others, as exhibiting a great want of proper reſerve, in details of the death-bed ſcene, which ſhould have been kept ſacred. One pamphlet in particular came forth, which excited much attention, and being attributed to our Biſhop, may not be paſſed over. It is often the penalty of diſtinction and fame to bear the burthen of other people's ſayings and doings. No one was more profuſely honoured after this ſort than Ken: the works injuriouſly aſcribed to him are more in number than his real productions. Hawkins complains of the "ill treatment he met with, even in his lifetime, from having ſpurious performances aſcribed to him."* Among theſe was the anonymous tract, entitled "A Letter to Dr. Teniſon, concerning his Sermon, preached at the Funeral of her late Majeſty." It is a tiſſue of bitter obloquy againſt the Queen, and the Archbiſhop, wholly inconſiſtent with the meek ſpirit of the author of the "Practice of Divine Love." It was not likely that he ſhould now, for the firſt time, and on ſuch an occaſion, enter the liſts of a political controverſy. If anything could draw him out of his retirement into the

* Dedication to the Works of Thomas Ken.

Mr. Round, in his Preface to the Proſe Works of Ken, notices ſeveral, and ſatisfactorily diſproves his authorſhip.

din of a contentious world, this at least was a topic uncongenial to him. He was incapable* of traducing the character of a Princess "whose high esteem he had gained by his most prudent behaviour, and strict piety, and whom to his death he distinguish'd by the title of his Mistress." † In all his acknowledged writings, or in his correspondence, no expression can be found that is akin to the whole tenor of this Letter of vehement animadversion.

Ken, therefore, we may be sure, was not the author. In his contemplative life, amid the secluded walks of Long Leat, he was very differently engaged. "There," as Hawkins says, "he composed many excellent, useful, and pious pieces," to be found in his volumes of poetry. "His cholick pains rendering him uncapable of more serious study, he applied himself so happily to this favourite entertainment, 'his great relish for Divine Poesy,' as thereby, in some measure, to palliate the acuteness of his pain. So close was his application to these studies, and so was his mind bent on quietness, that during all the time of his retirement, and among all the attempts of, and clamours against, those called *Jacobites*, in the reign of King William, he was never

* As one passage alone of that work might show; "O, my God, amidst the deplorable divisions of thy Church, let me never widen its breaches; but give me Catholic charity to all that are baptized in thy name, and Catholic Communion with all Christians in desire. O give me grace to pray daily for the peace of thy Church, and earnestly to seek it, and to excite all I can to praise and love Thee."

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 7.

once diſturb'd in that quiet enjoyment of himſelf; and 'tis preſumed never ſuſpected of any ill deſign, ſince never publickly moleſted, or privately rebuk'd:* "He behaved himſelf with all the decency, piety, and humility that became a Biſhop in affliction." †

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* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 25.

† Proſe Works of Ken, by Round, p. 43.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Ken's humane disposition — Circular letter of the deprived Bishops, recommending a charitable fund for the relief of the Non-juring Clergy — Character and Death of Kettlewell — Ken summoned before the Privy Council, and released.

THE friendship of Lord Weymouth had placed Ken beyond the reach of personal want: but he was sensitively alive to the distress of others. Every appeal of an afflicted fellow creature moved him at once to sympathy. His alms could not be in the measure of his charitable desires, which had ever been unbounded. When he gave nearly 4000*l.* to the exiled Huguenots, it did not satisfy him: how much less could he effect on 80*l.* a year! Then, of his abundance, he cast in all, as an offering to God;—now, his poor mite was an equal oblation, and laid up in the same treasury,—not the less blessed to himself.

Writing to Bishop Lloyd, he excuses himself from coming to London, as "being consistent neither with my purse, nor convenience, nor health, nor inclination:" and some days afterwards he says, "when I told you a London journey was not agreeable to my purse, it was no pretence, but a real truth. I am not able to support the expence of it, which all that know my condition will easily believe. I thank God I have enough to bring the yeare about, while I remain in

the country, and this is as much as I desire. *I have often been offered money for myself, but always refused it, and never take any but to distribute.*"* Lord Weymouth frequently made him his almoner. His friend, Dr. Thomas Smith, mentions his "generous and truly Christian compassion, and concern for the distressed Clergy of Scotland, who were suffering for conscience' and righteousness' sake, and his zeal in recommending their sad and woful condition to the humanity, good nature, and bounty of devout persons of his acquaintance."† Dr. Smith himself often received assistance from him. On one occasion Ken writes to him, "living so much in the country, I have no charitable contributions put into my hands, but of my own I can spare you the contents of the following note, which you would oblige me by accepting."‡ At another time, "I entreat you to let me know with the freedom of a friend, when you are in any streight, or want supply's to carry on your labours of love for the publick."§ Six months later the Dr. writes, "I hasten to make my grateful acknowledgements for the contents of your last letter; and next to unburthen myself that I was extremely surprized, not to say confounded, *stupito & stordito*, as the Italian phrase is, with the excessive kindness of your repeated present; wch considering the narrowness of your own circumstances I made it a scruple at conscience whether I could fairly receive: though you are pleased in your letter to obviate that doubt by telling me that you can

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 57.
† Ibid. p. 52.
‡ Ibid. p. 85.
§ Ibid. p. 93.

very well spare it."* Again the Bishop writes to him "I am sorry for good Lady Dutton and her daughters: I beseech God to support them. If when you go into the city you call on Brome, the Bookseller, he will pay you fifty shillings, which I design for them, though *I desire you to make no mention from whom it came.*"†

If he felt for the distress of the Non-jurors in Scotland, the deprived Clergy in England were equal sufferers, and had a more immediate claim on his compassion, some of them being in his own diocese. They had lost their all by refusing the oath of allegiance, and many of them were reduced to the lowest state of penury. Their wives and families were literally starving; for though charitable people made collections on their behalf, the number of these objects of pity was too great to be maintained, except on the most precarious footing. At length, Mr. John Kettlewell, seeing that nothing could meet the urgency of their case, but systematic and authorized collections, drew up a "Model of a Fund of Charity for the needy suffering Clergy." His prudence and foresight, no less than his meekness, were an earnest that the scheme would be effectual, and so guarded as to prevent giving umbrage to a jealous Government. He proposed that the deprived Bishops should issue a Pastoral Letter, inviting all humane persons to contribute, and that they should be managers of the Fund, with others of the Clergy to be selected by themselves. The several cases of the sufferers were to be correctly examined, and distribution made in strict conformity with their

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 97. † Ibid. p. 105.

merits and wants. By this plan, it was thought the Non-juring Biſhops would have more control over the conduct of their Clergy, and a protection be afforded againſt the many falſe pretenders, who had hitherto impoſed on the charitably inclined.*

The propoſal met with the warm concurrence of the deprived Biſhops, themſelves reduced to ſuch a ſmall pittance, that they could afford very little help to the inferior Clergy. A letter of Kettlewell's to Biſhop Lloyd ſhows the origin of the charitable fund, and is alſo an evidence of his frequent intercourſe with Ken.

"My Lord,

"I herewith preſent a ſmall Book† to your Lordſhip conſiſting of Thoughts, which have been much my ſtudy and employment under mine infirmityes, and are fit to be ſoe ſtill: And which I hope may be of uſe to others, when they come, as ſooner or later all muſt expect to come, into a ſtate of decays and weakneſs, not to add alſoe in their beſt ſtate of health.

"When my L^d^ B^p^. of B. and W^lls^. in great kindneſs and charity, was pleaſed laſt to call here, I was propoſing to him the ſetting up a Fund of Charity, for regular collection and diſtribution of the ſame among the poor ſuffering Clergy. I told him the good will you bore to it, only ſome difficultyes ſeemed to you therein, which I hoped might be removed. If he has ſeen your L^p^. ſince, I believe you had diſcourſe upon

* Life of Kettlewell, p. 417.

† Companion of the Penitent, and Perſons troubled in mind, 1694, 8vo.

it. Were this fund for the ſoldiery (tho' God knows enow among them have need enough) it may be ſome might fancy they could with better colour charge it as a liſting of men. But being only for the Clergye's relief, and their needs being notorious, methinkes, let them trouble whom they will, they cannot hurt them, and they may freely own and thanke God they have been employed therein; and when the truth of all is laid open, all wiſe men of all partyes muſt own, that it is an excellent part and proof of paſtoral care, and the adverſaryes can only envy it, not faſten on anything to accuſe or puniſh in it.

For ſubſcribing your Names and Titles, in any papers to recommend the ſame, and ſtir up charity, methinkes it would neither prejudice you, nor could offend them, if you write yourſelves with an Epithete, noteing, not the juſtice on one ſide or other, but only the actual ſuffering and force you are under, as *Suffering*, *Diſplaced*, *Ejected*, *Deprived*, or what word you ſhall thinke more proper, added to *Biſhops*, when you ſubſcribe yourſelves.

I ſhall only add, that if upon your wiſe and mature conſideration, Y^or^ L^p^ and Y^or^ Brethren the B^pps^ ſhall thinke this a feaſible, as you will thinke it otherwiſe a good deſign, and for this regular proviſion like to go on, I have a friend who authorizes me to ſay he will give an hundred Pounds himſelf towards the beginning of the Fund, and I know he will moreover get as much of others towards the ſame as he can.

Being laid up by my infirmityes this winter, and ſoe uncapable by waiting on you to ſpeak theſe things to Your L^p^ myſelf, I here preſume, with humble ſub-

miſſion, to write them. Wherein if Your L^p perceive me to be wrong, your goodneſs will allow the honeſty of my zele for ſoe good a thing, to expiate my miſtakes about the ways of its' promotion.

"I humbly beg your bleſſing, and remain

My hon^ed L^d

Y^or L^pps faithful humble ſerv^t

"Dec. 20, 94." J. KETTLEWELL."*

The infirmities he ſpeaks of too rapidly increaſed upon him: his naturally tender and delicate frame, over-wrought by ſtudy, could not withſtand the fatal inroads of a conſumption; he was ſnatched away from his friends at the age of forty-two.

John Kettlewell preſents to us one of the moſt perfect examples of holineſs that adorn the hiſtory of the Engliſh Church. It ſeemed to all around him, even in earlieſt youth, that God had endowed him with peculiar grace. In every ſtage of life the ſweetneſs of his temper was remarkable. A capacious and refined intellect, extenſive learning, endurance and courage, were the leaſt of his qualities. Piety, judgment, prudence, erudition, modeſty and candour have, one or other, been the leading points in many characters, juſtly revered in their day; but we find them all united in the perſon of Kettlewell. His tenderneſs of conſcience, his ſelf-abaſement, his ſenſe of God's attributes of infinite purity and juſtice, were harmonized by the Holy Spirit into a confiding Love, baſed on an immoveable Faith in the ſaving efficacy of his Redeemer's death. There is a letter of Sancroft's to Lloyd,

* Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

acknowledging the receipt of a manuſcript treatiſe of Kettlewell's on "Chriſtian Prudence, or Religious Wiſdom." He ſays, "I have long eſteemed Mr. Kettlewell a very good, and pious practical Divine: but this laſt treatiſe, and what he wrote formerly againſt Julian Johnſon, about Paſſive obedience,* ſhow him to be alſo a very learned man, very well read both in the Roman and Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. I deſire you kindly to ſalute the author in my name, when you ſee him, and to aſſure him of my moſt cordial love and eſteem; and to accept yourſelf of my hearty thanks for the opportunity you give me of peruſing theſe excellent diſcourſes." †

"Jan. 26, 1691."

It is an honour to Biſhop Ken that he was the model, which this younger Saint appears to have followed in the maturity of his Chriſtian character. It is an equal teſtimony to the virtues of Kettlewell, that the good Biſhop "upon all proper occaſions expreſſed the ſolid eſteem which he had for him, and for his judicious and pious works." ‡ Their ſacred friendſhip for each other ſuffered no interruption: in the very recreations, which they allowed themſelves from their labours and ſtudy, there was a ſimilarity of taſtes. Kettlewell's chief diverſion was muſic, "in the theory of which he was well ſkilled; and in the practical part too he was not deficient:" their favourite inſtruments were the ſame—they both played the viol. Kettlewell's

* Chriſtianity a Doctrine of the Croſs, or Paſſive Obedience under any pretended Invaſion of legal Rights and Liberties. 1691.

† Dr. Williams's Collection of Original Letters.

‡ Life of Kettlewell, p. 422.

publiſhed prayers are inferior to Ken's, which perhaps have never been excelled in our language: his ſermons are wanting in the rich imagery, and fervid, empaſſioned eloquence, that made the Biſhop the firſt of Preachers: in varied learning Kettlewell excelled his friend.

They were united not only by the bond of perſonal affection, but by perfect accord of their principles on the great queſtions of the Church, for which both were ſufferers. Had Kettlewell lived a few years longer, there can be little doubt that he would have concurred with his moſt intimate friend, Robert Nelſon, in the final meaſure of Ken for healing the ſchiſm. Soon after his death, Nelſon printed a Volume of Kettlewell's Sermons, with ſome account of his life and character: he ſent a copy to the Biſhop, who, in returning his thanks, ſays, "you have done honour to the memory of our dead friend, which we all ought to acknowledge: and I am very glad that his life is writing by another hand, as you tell me. He was certainly as ſaint-like a man as ever I knew; and his books are demonſtrations of it, which are full of as ſolid and ſearching a piety as ever I read. God was pleaſed to take him from the evil to come, to his infinite advantage, but to our great loſs: His bleſſed will be done."*

Kettlewell, on his death bed, received the holy Sacrament from the hands of Ken.† Mr. Bell, who alſo attended him in his laſt moments, had been appointed

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* Kettlewell's Life, Appendix xxv.

† The Conſtitution of the Catholic Church by Dr. George Hickes, p. 4.

to read the funeral service over him; but the Bishop was permitted to pay this tribute of affection to his memory: accordingly he performed the burial office, and read the whole Evening Service in his lawn sleeves.* This was in April, 1695. It is the only recorded instance of Ken's public administration of the services of the Church after his deprival.

The intended "Model of a Fund for Charity" was delayed for some time by the death of its originator. But in July the deprived Bishops drew up the following Pastoral Letter.

"To all Christian people, to whom this Charitable Recommendation shall be presented, Grace be to you, and Peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

"WHEREAS We, the present Deprived Bishops of this Church, have certain information, that many of our deprived brethren of the Clergy, their wives, children, and families, are reduced to extreme want, and unable to support themselves, and their several charges, without the charitable relief of pious and well disposed Christians; and being earnestly mov'd by several of them to represent their distressed condition to the mercy and compassion of such tender-hearted persons, as are inclined to commisserate and relieve the afflicted servants of God,

"Now We, in compliance with their intreaty, and with all due regard to their suffering circumstances, have thought it our duty *(as far as in law we may)*

* Life of Kettlewell, p. 484.

heartily to recommend their neceſſitous condition to all pious, good people; hoping and praying that they will take their caſe into their ſerious conſideration, and putting on the bowels of charity, extend their alms to them, and their needy families.

"And we will not ceaſe to pray for a bleſſing on ſuch their Benefactors: and remain in all Chriſtian offices,

"Your's

"William Biſhop of Norwich
Robert Biſhop of Glouceſter
Francis Biſhop of Ely
Thomas Biſhop of Bath and Wells
Thomas Biſhop of Peterborough
} now deprived."

"July 22, 1695."

The reſervation, "as far as in law we may," was inſerted at the inſtance of friendly lawyers, who foreſaw that this exerciſe of eccleſiaſtical authority might rouſe the watchful jealouſy of the Government. The object of the paper ought to have protected the harmleſs authors of the Fund from any ſuch feeling: but being in the form of an Encyclical Letter, or Brief, they were ordered by warrants to appear before the Privy Council, and anſwer to a charge of miſdemeanour. It was not the firſt time Ken, Turner, and White had been ſummoned before this tribunal in the cauſe of religion. As in the former reign, they had been ſent to the Tower for maintaining the integrity of the Church, they were now threatened with the ſame puniſhment for advocating the cauſe of Charity.

Nearly ten years had elapſed ſince Ken's memo-

rable trial. The vigour of his frame was now impaired by sickness, and his vivacity abated. He had not, as before, the prayers and acclamations of a whole nation to sustain his fortitude: the cold indifference, to say the least, with which he was greeted, might well damp the ardour of his mind, had he regarded the opinion of men. In 1688 King James anxiously waited the arrival of the Bishops from Lambeth Palace, and they were at once ushered into his presence: now Ken had to give his attendance three times in the outer waiting room of the Council Chamber, before he was admitted. The Lords gave him a favourable hearing; and afterwards Mr. Bridgman (Clerk of the Council) was sent out to him to tell him that they expected a copy of his answers. Accordingly he drew up an Account of the whole proceedings, which has been preserved to us by Hawkins.*

It is one of the most interesting records of his life, as it exhibits in the clearest light his courage, and the simplicity of his character. It appears that the Council were struck by his venerable appearance, and satisfied, from the answers he made to their questions, that the motive of the Bishops was purely one of charity.

His "ACCOUNT" begins as usual by ascribing "ALL GLORY TO GOD," and ends with "beseeching God to be gracious to their Lordships." They first asked him if he subscribed the obnoxious paper; to which he answered, "My Lords, I thank God I did, and it had a very happy effect; for the will of my blessed Redeemer was fulfill'd by it; and what we

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 48.

were not able to do by ourſelves, was done by others; the hungry were fed, and the naked were cloath'd: and to feed the hungry, to cloathe the naked, and to viſit thoſe who are ſick in priſon, is that Plea which all Your Lordſhips, as well as I, ſo far as you have had opportunities, muſt make for yourſelves at the Great Day. And that which you muſt all plead at God's tribunal, for your eternal abſolution, ſhall not, I hope, be made my condemnation here."

In reply to the objection that the paper was illegal, he ſays, "My Lords, I can plead to the Evangelical part; I am no lawyer: but I will ſincerely give your Lordſhips an account of the part I had in it. The firſt perſon who propoſed it to me was Mr. Kettlewell, that holy man who is now with God; and after ſome time it was brought to this form, and I ſubſcribed it, and then went into the country to my retirement in an obſcure village, where I live above the ſuſpicion of giving any the leaſt umbrage to the Government."

Againſt the charge that the collections had been miſapplied to unworthy objects, "and particularly to one *who goes in a gown one day, and a blue ſilk waiſt-coat another!*" he anſwers, "If the money was given in miſtake, or to unworthy people, yet if they want the neceſſaries of life, we ought to ſupport that life God indulges them, hoping for the happy effect of it. I thought it my duty to do this in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, when there were in my Dioceſe about a thouſand priſoners, and many of them ill men, and void of all religion. I viſited them night and day, and I thank God I ſupply'd them with neceſſaries myſelf, as far as I could, and encouraged others to do the

ſame, and yet King James never found the leaſt fault with me. And if I am now charged with miſapplying what was given, I beg of your Lordſhips that St. Paul's Apoſtolical rule may be obſerved, 'againſt an Elder receive not an accuſation, but before two or three witneſſes;' for I am ſure none can teſtify that againſt me. What I gave, I gave in the country; and I gave to none but thoſe who did both want and deſerve it: the laſt that I gave was to two poor widows of depriv'd Clergymen, one whereof was left with ſix, the other with ſeven ſmall children."

When it was urged that he had uſurped eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, he replied, "My Lords, I never heard that begging was a part of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; and in this paper we are only beggars, which privilege I hope may be allowed us. I make no doubt but your Lordſhips may have had ſtrange miſinformations concerning this paper: but having ſincerely told you what part I had in it, I humbly ſubmit myſelf to your Lordſhips' juſtice.

"I preſume your Lordſhips will come to no immediate Reſolution concerning me; and having voluntarily ſurrendred myſelf, and the Warrant having never been ſerv'd on me till I had twice attended here, this being the third time, and my health being infirm, I beg this favour of your Lordſhips, that I may return to my ſiſters houſe, where I have hitherto lodg'd, which is a place the meſſenger knows well; and that I may be no otherwiſe confin'd till I have receiv'd your Lordſhips final Reſolution.

"This favour your Lordſhips were pleas'd very

readily to grant me; for which I return my humble acknowledgements, beſeeching God to be gracious to your Lordſhips.

"THOMAS BATH AND WELLS.

"April 28th, 1696." Depriv'd." *

What voice could be raiſed againſt him after ſo explaining himſelf? "The Council thought proper to drop the affair as eaſily as could be;" for, as the author of Kettlewell's Life obſerves, "he made ſuch an Apology for the part he had in the matter, as was irreſiſtible, his anſwers being thoſe of a true Chriſtian Biſhop." † And ſo he was diſmiſſed to his meditation and prayers. Health, ſtation, influence, were no longer his: but his heart was inflamed with a nearer approach to Him, on whoſe love he was willing to ſubſiſt. He realized the ſweetneſs of God's preſence, compenſating all other wants. In his public life he had never ſtriven for advancement in the world, which was to him as a fleeting viſion: every act had been a ſtep towards Heaven; in his retirement, he had the happineſs of a meek ſpirit, which is its beſt preparative. It was not here he had ever expected to be ſatisfied; and now he had more than he thought he deſerved. Bounties, or croſſes, — whichever befel him, ſeemed equally bleſſed. His faith was conſtant, his obedience cheerful, under every trial. Poor though he was, he had a readineſs of heart to adminiſter com-

* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 56.

† Life of Kettlewell, p. 422.

fort to others, and a free, ſincere, and entire contentment in all God's appointments for himſelf. He knew them to be pledges of His unbounded love, which would be perfected hereafter in the beatific viſion. Theſe are the ſentiments that find frequent expreſſion in his poems, prayers, and letters.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Death of James II.—Death of William III.; his character — Acceſſion of Queen Anne — Biſhop Kidder killed in the Palace at Wells during the great Storm — Anne offers to reſtore Ken to Bath and Wells: he declines: perſuades Dr. Hooper to accept his Biſhopric, and reſigns.

AS time wore away, and Ken advanced in years, many of his friends dropped, one by one, into the grave. Dr. White, Biſhop of Peterborough, went to his reſt in 1698, and Francis Turner, in 1700. We find no record of Ken's feelings at the loſs of this, his earlieſt friend: but in ſeveral of his after letters, referring to their agreement in principles, he always mentions him as "the Biſhop of Ely, now with God." He could not lament his departure, knowing that he had eſcaped from trouble and infirmities to bliſs unſpeakable: he rather deſired the hour when he ſhould be permitted to join him.

Kings, too, and mightieſt potentates muſt die. James and William were taken away within ſix months of each other. One had outlived his hopes; — the other had learnt how unavailing to happineſs is ſucceſsful ambition. Who can ſay which of the two, in their conteſts, had gained moſt for eternity,—he who loſt, or he who won the Crown? On both it had preſſed uneaſily. James meditated deep inroads on the Engliſh and

Scotch Churches,—but was frustrated: William had the power to inflict upon them wounds as deep, and more lasting;—and he exercised it to the full. We feel them to this day. His last thoughts were bent on the passing of a law for new oaths, to be taken by all persons,—abjuring the claims of James's son. His dying hand was too feeble to affix the signature to this crowning Act of a timorous policy, by which he hoped to secure to himself the quiet possession of the throne. That throne was already given to another,—to one whom he cordially disliked, and had treated with unmerited harshness. The dread summons had gone forth, against which there is no appeal. Even the arrival of Lord Albemarle from Holland, with important intelligence on affairs of deep interest to him, could no longer rouse his departing spirit:—"*je tire vers ma fin*," was the only languid reply.

It is no fair ground of censure against William that he loved Holland exclusively. It was the country of his birth and inheritance; and where is the law that condemns a man for being a patriot? Certain it was, he had no love for England, except as a possession, and a means of his own aggrandizement. Nor is it just to say that he was altogether a foreigner: his mother was an English Princess, and he had almost as much of the Stuart blood in his veins as James, whose mother was Henrietta of France. The real blot on his escutcheon is that, being a nephew and son-in-law of James, he deliberately violated his word, and the ties of kindred, in the pursuit of his ambition.

As a brave warrior, and a sagacious statesman, his claims to high repute are unquestionable, though in

the complex politics of England he was often-times wavering and undecided. The liberties ſecured to us by his acceſſion cannot be too highly prized: but they were not his grant. The BILL OF RIGHTS was a noble triumph, gained by our anceſtors of that day: to them we muſt aſcribe the honour of its achievement. It is a laſting monument to their memory, and to the wiſdom which exacted it, as the ſtipulated price of the Crown, — then in their power to beſtow. It remains for hiſtorians to juſtify, as beſt they may, his willingneſs, in the latter part of his reign, to recognize the claims of James's ſon (whoſe birth he had before ſtigmatized) in preference to thoſe of Anne, who had yielded to him her prior claim to the throne, on the faith of his pledge, and juſtice. But for that voluntary ceſſion, he would probably have ceaſed to be King, after the death of Mary. The conſternation, and heartfelt grief, occaſioned by his death, throughout Holland, and the undiſguiſed joy of the French, bore equal teſtimony to the high ſenſe entertained of his talents by friends and foes. He raiſed his native country to a dignity it had never reached under any former Prince; and England owed to him the honour of having curbed the unbounded ambition of Louis.

The acceſſion of Anne revived the hopes of the Non-jurors. They had been occaſionally treated with great harſhneſs in the time of William: the meditated oath, abjuring the claims of James's ſon, had filled them with alarm. Ken writes, "I am troubled to ſee the nation likely to be involved in new univerſal oaths, but hope they will be impoſed on none but thoſe who are employed, or promoted, in Church and State.

You will do me the kindneſſe to ſet me at eaſe about it, and let me know whether it will be inforced. *It is an oath I ſhall never take. I will rather leave the kingdom, old and infirm as I am.*" *

Biſhop Lloyd wrote to him on "the nice conjunction of affairs;"—"Your preſence and counſel ſeem to be very neceſſary to us, upon the fact of the late emergency, namely the death of King William. Therefore I make bold to pray and entreat you to come up to our comfort and aſſiſtance, as ſoon as conveniently you can. This, my Lord, is the earneſt requeſt of ſuch of our brethren as I have ſeen and converſed withall, as well as of your Lordſhip's affectionate friend and brother." †

It does not appear what were the plans then formed by the nonjurors. But Ken, long ſince weary of the conteſts of party, could not be moved from his reſolution to remain quiet: he knew that many ſtill deſired to maintain the ſeparate communion, and in this he was not diſpoſed to concur. He ſays "he cannot imagine that his counſel and aſſiſtance are worth a London journey: he believes it may give a fair occaſion to many to alter their conduct—but it does not at all influence him. He has quite given over all thoughts of re-entering the world, and nothing ſhall tempt him to any oath, only he heartily wiſhes that by thoſe who know the towne, ſome expedient might be found out to put a period to the ſchiſm, which is ſo very vexatious to perſons of tender conſcience, who live ſcattered

* Proſe Works of Ken by Round, p. 54.

† Ibid. p. 55.

in the country. *In any thing of that nature he would heartily concur.*" *

The firſt biſhoprick that fell vacant, after the acceſſion of Anne, was that of Carliſle. Lord Weymouth, who was of the Queen's Privy Council, at once made intereſt for reſtoring his friend Ken to Bath and Wells, by the tranſlation of Kidder to Carliſle. Kidder conſented to this through the Archbiſhop of York: but when it was mentioned to Ken, he declined. The ſtatement is that he objected to the oath of abjuration.† But independent of this, he had reſolved not to return to public life.

The next vacancy was St. Aſaph. Anne evinced at once her judgment, and her love of the Church, by ſelecting Ken's old friend, Dr. Hooper, already Dean of Canterbury. He had not been one of thoſe who followed upon the nimble heels of Burnet, when he hurried from the death bed of his friend and patron, King William, to congratulate his ſucceſſor. This bluff and buſy prelate ſays of Hooper, that "he was reſerved, crafty and ambitious: his Deanery had not ſoftened him, for he thought he deſerved to be raiſed higher." This is one of the many flippant and prejudiced characters to be found every where in Burnet's Hiſtory: change the word "reſerved" into overbearing, and he has rather drawn his own true likeneſs than Hooper's. *Reſerved*—Burnet certainly was not; for he had no reſerves with any one perſon or thing that ſtood in the way of his purſuit. His Hiſtory of his

* Proſe Works of Ken, by Round, p. 56.

† Lanſdown MSS. vol. v. p. 987.

own Times abounds in skilful touches of events and characters, grouped together with a sort of natural and ready force that defies the trammels of careful arrangement, or laborious investigation. His work is defaced by a want of conscientious truthfulness, the highest and rarest quality in a contemporary historian; but no one can deny the superior powers of his mind. These criticisms apply only to his public acts: of his personal virtues, or their opposites, we have no interest in speaking; he has been sufficiently lauded and reprobated to satisfy both his admirers and censors.

A more affable, simple, and unselfish man never lived than Bishop Hooper. If he was ambitious he had through life taken a strange and unlikely path to bring himself to dignity.* One day, when he was chaplain at the Hague, the Prince was talking to him about the great distractions then in England, at the time of the Popish plot, and the great indulgence intended to be showed to the Dissenters, but Hooper not expressing himself so favourable to those measures as the Prince liked or expected, he said to him, "Well, Dr. Hooper, you will never be a Bishop." † The fact is, "he would never yield by undue compliance, where the Church of England, or any thing belonging to it, was concerned, which made the Prince once say to one that was in his confidence, that 'if ever he had any thing to do with England, Dr. Hooper should be Dr. Hooper still.'" ‡ The Prince kept his word: nor did Hooper pay his court to soften the prejudice. After William came to the throne, "he

* Prowse MS. Life of Hooper. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

gave orders to the Chaplains who preached before her Royal Highneſs, the Princeſs Anne, not to make their accuſtomed bows to her at their going into the pulpit, or rather before they began their ſermon, which that Princeſs (who was remarkably civil, and yet never ſtooping too much from her high dignity) always uſed to return to the preacher, neither were they allowed to ſend her the text. Dr. Hooper did not think any commands whatever ſufficient to excuſe him from paying her the honour due to her, and conſtantly did both, whenever his turn came." *

"Juſt after the death of Archbiſhop Tillotſon, a lady who came into Queen Mary's apartment, told her Majeſty that ſhe believed there was all the dignified clergy in town come to Court that day to ſhow themſelves. The Queen immediately reply'd, that ſhe was ſure ſhe knew one that was not there, and that was the Dean of Canterbury. Some of the company not ſeeming to think any was miſſing on that occaſion, a lady who knew the Dean was ſent out to ſee, and upon her return ſaying he was not there, 'No,' ſays the Queen, 'I was ſure he was not there, I can anſwer for him,' or words to that effect. This the Dean was told by a great lady who was there attending the Queen." †

Ken rejoiced at Hooper's elevation. Writing from Poulſhot to Biſhop Lloyd, he ſays, "I am extremely glad that you and the Biſhop elect of St. Aſaph converſed together. He is one of the beſt underſtandings I ever knew, and if he will exert himſelf, will do ex-

* Prowſe MS. Life of Hooper. † Ibid.

cellent service to this sinking Church. I should think it one of the best excursions I could make to give you both a visit, but besides my aversion to the town, I am afflicted with such pains, that I am by no means fit for travelling:—they are rheumatic, and lie within my joints, and never come to the extreme parts, and at this present my left arm is in a great measure disabled." * A fortnight later he says, "You have a very true apprehension of your brother of St. Asaph. He is of an excellent temper as well as understanding, and a man of sincerity, though he may be of a different judgment (having taken the oaths) and I much desire that you may often meet, and consult how to moderate things, as much as may be, *salvâ veritate;* for I fear that many of our friends run too high, and that the Church of Rome will reap advantages of excesses in that kind." †

On the night of the 26th of Nov. 1703, the greater part of England was visited by one of the most violent and destructive tempests on record. De Foe published an account of this "STORM," in which it is estimated that the damage amounted to four millions sterling: he says "the loss is universal, and its extent general; not a house, not a family that had anything to lose, but have lost something; the sea, the land, the houses, the churches, the corn, the trees, the rivers, all have felt the fury of the winds. In the New Forest in Hampshire above 4000 trees, some of prodigious thickness, were blown down: and above 450

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 61.

† Ibid. p. 63.

parks and groves loſt from 200 to 1000 trees each. Twelve ſhips of the navy were totally wrecked: the Eddyſtone light-houſe was deſtroyed, and the people within periſhed. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the general calamity. About 8000 perſons were ſuppoſed to have periſhed." *

In the midſt of this ſcene of deſolation many perſons had providential eſcapes: amongſt others Biſhop Ken. He was ſtaying with his nephew, Iſaac Walton Junior, at Poulſhot: writing to Biſhop Lloyd of Norwich, he thus deſcribes his danger.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"My good Lord and dear Brother,

"I RETURN you my thanks for both yours. I have no news to return, but that laſt night there was here the moſt violent wind that ever I knew; the houſe ſhaked all the night; we all roſe, and called the family to prayers, and by the goodneſs of God we were ſafe amidſt the ſtorm. It has done a great deal of hurt in the neighbourhood, and all about, which we cannot yet hear of; but I fear it has been very terrible at ſea, and that we ſhall hear of many wrecks there. Bleſſed be God who preſerved us. I hope that your Lordſhip and your family have ſuffered no harm, and ſhould be glad to hear you are well. I beſeech God to keep us in his holy fear.

"Your Lordſhip's
Moſt affectionate friend and brother,

"Nov. 27th." THO. B. & W." †

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* London, 1704, 8vo. pp. 155, 156—222, 223.

† Proſe Works of Ken by Round, p. 63.

In another letter he says, "I think I omitted to tell you ye full of my deliverance in ye late storm, for the house being search'd ye day following, ye workmen found y^t y^e *beame wch supported ye roof over my head was shaken out to y^t degree, y^t it had but halfe an inch hold*, so y^t it was a wonder it could hold together; for wch signal and particular preservation God's holy name be ever praised! I am sure I ought alwayes thankfully to remember it. God keep us in his holy fear.

"Your Lordshipp's
Most affe^c. friend & B^r.
T. B. & W."*

This merciful preservation was the more remarkable by contrast with the fatal end of Bishop Kidder, who had supplanted him in his diocese. Ken writes, two days after, to Bishop Lloyd, "The storm on Friday night, which was the most violent, I mentioned in my last, but I then did not know what happened at Wells, which was much shattered, and that part of the Palace where Bishop Kidder and his wife lay, was blown down in the night, and they were both killed and buried in the ruins, and dug out towards morning. It happened on the very day of the Cloth fair, when all the country were spectators of the deplorable calamity, and soon spread the sad story. God of his infinite mercy deliver us from such dreadful surprises. I am assured that no one either in the Palace, or in the whole town, beside them, had any hurt. God keep us in his holy fear, and our dwellings in safety."†

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* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 67. † Ibid. p. 64.

The awful cataſtrophe awakened his devout thankfulneſs for his own ſafety; "bleſſed be God, who preſerved us in the late great ſtorm; it is a deliverance not to be forgotten:" but he felt for the "deplorable calamity and dreadful ſurpriſe" which plunged Kidder's family in the deepeſt diſtreſs. One of De Foe's correſpondents ſays, "the diſmal accident of our late Biſhop and Lady was moſt remarkable; who was killed by the fall of two chimney-ſtacks, which fell on the roof, and drove it in upon my Lord's bed, forced it quite through the next floor, down into the hall, and buried them both in the rubbiſh: and 'tis ſuppoſed my Lord was getting up, for he was found ſome diſtance from my Lady, who was found in her bed: but my Lord had his morning gown on, ſo that 'tis ſuppoſed he was coming from the bed juſt as it fell." *

No ſooner was the death of Kidder known at Court, than ſeveral perſons ſolicited the appointment to Bath and Wells: but "the Queen ſent for Dr. Hooper, the new Biſhop of St. Aſaph, told him the ſad accident, and that ſhe meant the Biſhopric for him. He expreſſed his thanks to Her Majeſty, but begged to be excuſed, as he could by no means eat the bread of ſo old a friend as Biſhop Ken had been to him, and entreated her Majeſty's leave to propoſe to her the reſtoring him to his Biſhopric again. This the Queen highly approved of, and thanked the Biſhop for putting her in mind of it, and ordered him to propoſe it to Biſhop Ken." † This is another proof of Burnet's

* The Storm, by Daniel Defoe, p. 94.

† Prowſe MS. Life of Hooper.

unjuſt character of Hooper, as "ambitious, whoſe Deanery had not ſoftened him." It may be added here that at a later period, when Compton died, he was offered the Biſhopric of London, and afterwards the Primacy of York, on the death of Archbiſhop Sharp; but declined them both. *

And now an amicable conteſt aroſe between the two tried friends, each deſiring the other to take the See of Bath and Wells. Hooper knew what a healing of the ſchiſm it would be, if the Biſhopric were reſtored to its rightful poſſeſſor: but Ken could never be induced to take the oaths: beſides, his infirmities had long ſince determined him to remain in privacy; he "deſired only to ſee the flock in good hands, and he knew none better, to whom he might entruſt it than Hooper's."† He received the Queen's offer "with great acknowledgements," and deſired Biſhop Hooper to "return his moſt grateful thanks for her gracious remembrance of him; but that he could not return into the buſineſs of the world again, but would ever beſeech God to accumulate the bleſſings of both upon her."‡ In the ſame letter he expreſſed his great ſatisfaction at the offer Biſhop Hooper had, and "how freely he would reſign all title to the Biſhopric to him, and how much he rejoiced that his ſtrayed ſheep would be reduced under his government."§

Hooper being averſe to ſo ſudden a removal from St. Aſaph, to which he was only juſt appointed, "Bi-

* Prowſe MS. Life of Hooper.

† Proſe Works of Ken by Round, p. 65.

‡ Prowſe MS. Life of Hooper. § Ibid.

ſhop Ken ſent him a letter, full of thoſe primitive ſtrains, which were in all his writings, in which he charged him, as he would anſwer it at the great day, to take the charge of his flock, with more to the ſame purpoſe; and the Queen at the ſame time inſiſting on his taking it, he was forced to comply."*

One of theſe letters was the following:

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"My very good Lord,

"I AM informed y^t you have an offer of Bath and Wells, and that you refuſed it, wch I take very kindly, becauſe I know you did it on my account; but ſince I am well aſſured y^t ye dioceſe cannot be happy to y^t degree in any other hands than in your owne, I DESIRE YOU TO ACCEPT OF IT, and I know y^t you have a prevailing intereſt to procure it. I told you long agoe at Bath how willing I was to ſurrender my canonicall claime to a worthy perſon, but to none *more willingly* than to yourſelfe. My diſtemper diſables me from ye paſtoral duty, and had I been reſtored, I declared allways y^t I would ſhake off ye burthen, and retire.

"God keepe us in his holy feare.

"My good Lord,

Your Lordſhippe's moſt affectionately,

"Dec. 6." T. B. AND W."†

Accordingly, ſeeing no alternative, Hooper yielded

* Prowſe MS. Life of Hooper, and Bowles', vol. ii. p. 256.

† Proſe Works of Ken by Round.

his acquieſcence, at which Ken cordially rejoiced, and thus wrote

" The Right Rev. Father in God, George Lord Biſhop of Aſaph.

" ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

" My very good Lord,

" THE laſt poſt brought me ye news wch I earneſtly expected, and wch your lordſhippe's letter gave me hope of, and I heartily congratulate ye dioceſe of Bath and Wells of your tranſlation, for it was ye good of ye flock, and not my friendſhippe for yourſelf, wch made me deſire to ſee you in ye paſtorall chaire, where I know you will zealouſly '*contend for ye faith once delivered to y^e ſaints*,' which in theſe *latitudinarian times* is in great danger to be loſt. I could eaſily forſee y^t by my concerne for you I ſhould incurre ye diſpleaſure of ſome of my brethren, but this is not ye firſt inſtance in wch I have diſſented from them, and never had cauſe to repent of it; and the good of ye dioceſe ſupercedes all other conſiderations.

" God keepe us in his holy feare,

" My good Lord,

Your Lordſhippes moſt affectionately,

" Dec. 20." T. K."

Being thus able to ſatisfy his conſcience in a voluntary ceſſion of his truſt into ſuch hands, he could make a deciſive ſtep towards healing the ſchiſm, for which only he now deſired to live. The original conteſt, and ſeparation, had been baſed on the forcible invaſion of

his rights :— then he could not yield; but now, after an interval of fourteen years, the breach might be repaired, and the canonical ſucceſſion preſerved. He might call upon his flock to ſubmit heartily to the ſpiritual juriſdiction of their new Biſhop. All who loved the Church, and prayed for its integrity, would be thankful, and he himſelf reſtored entirely to her communion, from which, out of conſcientious ſcruples, he had often been compelled to abſent himſelf.

CHAPTER XXX.

Ken censured by many of the Non-jurors for his resignation of the Bishopric—Difference between himself and Lloyd—Queen Anne grants him a pension.

KEN'S anticipations, that by resigning his Bishopric he would incur the displeasure of the Non-jurors, were too truly verified: notwithstanding the spirit of love and temperateness, which prompted him to this act, the Jacobites were loud in their condemnation of him. To close the separation at a moment like this, when hopes of restoring the Stuart line began to dawn upon them, was, in their view, a desertion of the cause of truth, and a schismatical compliance. These complaints could not divert him from his purpose: he had never been a partizan: his love for the Church, and a sense of her present needs, sustained him in the new conflict he was to endure. But, that he might do all with openness, the same post which conveyed his letter to Hooper carried another to the Bishop of Norwich, who was the leader of the more zealous of the Non-jurors. Lloyd had previously been displeased with Ken for his moderate course, which he thought was halting half way in the path of duty. This however had not interrupted their friendly intercourse:

"they differed, but without breach of friendſhip."* And now Ken writes to him, "I hear of ſeveral perſons who ſolicit for my Dioceſe, and whom I know not, and I am informed it is offered to my old friend, the Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and that it is declined by him. For my part, if times ſhould have changed, I never intended to return to my burden; but I much deſire to ſee the flock in good hands, and I know none better to whom I may entruſt it than his; for which reaſon I write to him this poſt, to let him know my deſire that he ſhould ſucceed, with which I thought good to acquaint your Lordſhip."†

Lloyd, in anſwer, adviſes him not to quit his charge, till there might be a meeting, and a conſultation, leaſt anything might be done to hurt the Church, or wound the minds of the brethren.‡ But Queen Anne would not have waited their leiſure; had Hooper pauſed in his acceptance, another muſt have been appointed, to whom, moſt probably, Ken could not conſcientiouſly have reſigned his office. Lloyd did not expreſs any diſapproval of what Ken had done; he even *congratulated him on the choice of Hooper*, expreſſing his ſenſe of the hardneſſe of the work to ſtem the ſtrong current which runs againſt the Church.§ "I was appriſed of Dr. Hooper's piety, learning, and good temper, and in my poor opinion you could not have deſired a worthier or fitter perſon for your ſucceſſor, and therefore I wiſh that a double portion of his predeceſſor's ſpirit may reſt upon him."‖

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* Proſe Works of Ken by Round, p. 55-6. † Ibid. p. 65.
‡ Ibid. p. 72. § Ibid. p. 74. ‖ Ibid. p. 72.

This, perhaps unexpected, concurrence of Lloyd was a relief to Ken's mind. He says, "it is no small satisfaction to me, that you approve of my choice, in good earnest. I had such experience of one before,* who instead of keeping the flock within the fold, encouraged them to stray, that I was afraid of a traditour, and in such a time as this, thought I could not do a greater kindness to the Diocese, than in procuring it one of the most valuable men in the Church, and one who was so very able to defend the depositum, which seems to me to be in the utmost danger."† And again: "you cannot imagine the universal satisfaction expressed for Dr. Hooper's coming to my See; and I make no doubt but that he will rescue the diocese from the apostacy from 'the faith once delivered to the Saints,' which at present threatens us, and from the spirit of *latitudinarianism, which is a common sewer of all heresies imaginable*, and I am not a little satisfied, that I have made the best provision for the flock, which was possible in our present circumstances."‡

Though he might anticipate censure, he was hardly prepared for so great a ferment as was springing up against him among the Jacobites, at losing a support they could least of all dispense with. Dr. Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, had already surrendered his cure of souls:—but as he was not so eminent, and his example little thought of, they took no notice of him.§ To have their separate communions abandoned by Bishop Ken, so loved and venerated throughout the kingdom, who

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* Bishop Kidder. † Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 80.
‡ Ibid. p. 81. § Ibid. p. 69.

of all other men ſeemed to ſanctify their cauſe, was an advantage to their enemies that filled them with diſmay. Their exceſſive anger is forcibly deſcribed in one of Ken's letters to Lloyd; "the Jacobites at Briſtol, fomented by thoſe at London, are thoroughly enraged againſt me for my ceſſion to one, whom all mankind, but themſelves, have a high eſteem of, and one moſt able and willing to preſerve the depoſitum, and under whoſe care I aſſure myſelf that the dioceſe will be ſecured from the latitudinarian contagion. I am threatened with ſomething to be printed againſt me: I believe they had better let me alone. If I ſhould produce the frequent letters a certaine perſon* wrote to me, for near two years together, to importune me to conſent to clandeſtine c. (conſecrations) they would ſhow the temper of the man, and his zeal to make the ſchiſm incurable, which I was always for moderating, foreſeeing how fatall it would prove. As long as I have your approbation, and the example of our other Bp,† I have little regard for the paſſion of others: I thank God that I have repoſed the flock in ſafe hands, which is a great eaſe to me, and I have preſerved them from a wolfe, that might have invaded them. All who condemn me owne that death legitimates an intruder, and I know no reaſon, but that voluntary ceſſion, for the apparent preſervation of the whole flock, to one who will not intrude, may be as effectual as death." ‡

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* Probably Hickes. † Biſhop of Glouceſter.

‡ Proſe Works of Ken by Round, p. 69.

Lloyd now began to change his view of Ken's act, seeing the disturbance it created in the party, but replied in a friendly tone: "I was sensibly grieved (when I read your letter) for the noyse and outcryes, made both at Bristoll and here, upon the account of your cession. How a sudden passion may carry and transport some men at Bristoll I know not; but I am sure I have not heard any of the brethren here say anything disrespectful of your person, or your character, unlesse what amounts to no more than this, viz. that they seemed offended because your conduct in and about the cession was not managed *communi consensu*."* To this Ken answers; "among other things which are vehemently laid to my charge one is, that against your advice and entreaties I would obstinately go my own way; against this I owne that you had wrote to me to deferre my cession, but that the nature of the thing would not permit it, *and if I had not given my consent that post*, I might have had a hireling and not a shepherd, and I wrote to you to that purpose, and that after I had receded, your Lordship approved of what I had done, and that I had by me your letters, which congratulated my choice, to attest it. Sure I am, if people will duly weigh all circumstances, no well-minded man can blame me. I am told from London 'tis urged that by my action I condemn their conduct, but how I know not; if any of them had a cure of souls, and could transfer it into like hands, as I have done, I should exhort them to recede, as well as myself, for the common good of the flock, without

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 72.

making a bargaine with the ſucceſſor for a penſion, as I fear ſome have done who blame me.

"God keep us in his holy feare and prepare us for a happy eternity. My dear L^d^

"Your Lordſhips moſt affectionate Brother,*

"20th March, 1704." T. B. AND W."

Mr. Round records a letter,† evidently from Briſtol, but without date or ſignature, which is a valuable addition to the few particulars we have of the opinions then prevalent with the extreme party. The writer ſays, "the melancholy account of Bp. Ken adds to the affliction of the day. When I ſaw him before Chriſtmas he gave me great occaſion to ſuſpect his *declination*, for to my ſurpriſe he told me he would reſign his Bprick to Dr. Hooper for the preſervation of the faith, now in danger." Among other curious details, the writer mentions, "having laboured for ſome months paſt to bring a young lady of quality off from the ſchiſmatical churches entirely. I have talked and wrote to that purpoſe, but *poor Bp. K. hath undone more in one word* than I was likely to do in ten thouſand, for he allowed that liberty, that ſtrange occaſional conformity, and ſo the lady is confirmed in her amphibious devotion. God be merciful to this poor Church. The deluſion and infatuation ſpreads wider and wider. *This poor gentleman's lapſe* is occaſion of great lamentation unto us, and laughter to our enemies. It confirms more the otherwiſe well inclined in their ſchiſm, hardening the obſtinate ſchiſmatick, and I fear gives occaſion

* Proſe Works of Ken by Round, p. 73. † Ibid. p. 70.

to the professed enemies of God to blaspheme more abundantly, and as for my own part, it is a double affliction to think that I must be necessitated to forsake his communion, who received me by absolution to the peace and unity of the Church; but I must doe it, if that father hath fallen himself into those errors, out of which (I dayly bless God) I am retrieved."*

Bishop Lloyd was in a difficulty: his affection and respect for Ken had at first prompted him to yield, at least a tacit, approval of his cession, which he now endeavoured to retract. He wrote two letters, the precise tenor of which can only be surmised from the somewhat tart and reproachful answers returned by Ken, who felt keenly the abandonment of his friend in recalling what he had before said, and leaving him to the unmitigated anger of his censurers. He heard also that Lloyd had the indiscretion to allow some, who were most hot against him, to see his letters, written in confidence, which he calls hard usage,—and not unreasonably, if it were true.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"My good Lord and Brother,

"I PERCEIVE by your two last that your Lordshippe is very shy of owning your approval of my action, at which I justly wonder, in regard your expressions signify it very clearly. I have done nothing but what may be justified by primitive precedents, and which is for the preservation of the *depositum*, which ought chiefly to exhaust a pastour's zeal, especially when he

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 71.

is in all reſpects *diſabled* himſelf for paſtoral care, and that the flock might have a ſhepherd, and not a *hireling*. I am not ſurprized at the cenſures beſtowed on me; I foreſaw them all; and, to deal freely with your Lordſhippe, you are not without your ſhare. For my own part, I never did any thing in my life *more to my ſatisfaction than my receding*. It has eaſed me of a great load which lay on me, has *entirely looſened me from the world;* ſo that I have now nothing to doe but to think of eternity, for which God of his infinite mercy prepare us.

" My good Lord,

Your Lordp's very affect: Friend and Brother,

" April 1." T. B. AND W."*

A few days after he wrote again.

" My very good Lord and dear Brother,

" THOUGH I wrote to your Lordſhip laſt, yett I am in a manner bound to write again, to let you know that the ferment againſt me riſes higher and higher, inſomuch that when the neighbours at Briſtol come hither, they manifeſtly inſult me, and though you are pleaſed to tell me that others kindled this flame, and not yourſelf, I muſt take the freedom to tell you that it is yourſelf have moſt contributed to it. For it is ſtill vehemently urged againſt me, that I acted quite contrary to your earneſt remonſtrances, which you know to be falſe. If I did, I do not remember that I ever put myſelf into your keeping, and was to do nothing

* Proſe Works of Ken by Round, p. 75.

but by your direction; but you yourself can acquit me in that particular, by only relating matter of fact. But I find there is a flat contradiction between them and me; I affirm you approved my action, and you flatly deny it, and affirm the quite contrary, and that encreases their zeal: now I calmly appeal to you to let me know the literal importance of this expression, for I will only mention this: '*I heartily congratulate your choice, and wish a double portion of your spirit may rest upon the head and heart of your successor, for I trust he will act valiantly and becoming his station.*' If this does not signify an approbation, and more than that, a congratulation, both of my action and the person, to that height, I am much mistaken, since you would not have used this language, if you had thought my successour, as you style him, a schismatical Bishop. No, good Brother, your native thoughts were the same with mine; but when you heard a cry against me, you flew to the distinction of Person and Cession, and 'tis from thence that the fury against me was raised for doing an act which, according to the best of my judgment, appeared truly primitive and charitable, and I may add necessary. This is not all; the heat against me is furnished with fresh fuel from the town, and that by your communicating my letters, which I am charged with here. This is hard usage; sure I am that I have never showed your letters to my angry neighbours, being unwilling to expose private correspondence, which when exposed is easily misrepresented, and exagerated, and if I had done it I verily believe that the like heat would be raised against yourself. Sure I am had you acted uniformly to the expressions you used to

me, this ſtorm had quite allayed, or at leaſt very much moderated. Upon the whole matter I, who deſire nothing more than in retreat quietly to ſerve God, to pray for my brethren, which I daily do, and to mind only my latter end, ſeeing my letters do but make more trouble, deſire to be excuſed from writing for the future, for I find it much eaſier for me ſilently to endure the paſſion of others, than to endeavour to mitigate it. I beſeech God to make us wiſe for eternity.

"Your Lordſhips very affect: Brother,

"April 5." T. B. AND W."*

We cannot be ſurprized to ſee his temper ruffled for a moment at finding his friend appear to join in the cry againſt him. He was aſſailed by a hoſt of angry declaimers, who gave him all the hard names of "ſchiſmatic, deluded, incoherent,—the poor gentleman whoſe lapſe gave occaſion to the profeſſed enemies of God to blaſpheme," &c. And to have his private letters ſhown about was enough to make him reſolve to write no more. But he did write again, and to aſk forgiveneſs for any unkind expreſſions he might have uſed.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"My very good Lord and Brother,

"YOUR Lordſhip's was ſent to me to Polſhalt laſt night. I confeſs when I wrote my laſt I was heated, and provoked to a great degree, and if my provocation tranſported me to any indecent expreſſions, I beg your par-

* Proſe Works of Ken by Round, p. 76.

don, which you will I hope the more readily grant, becauſe you ſeem to have been in the like paſſion when you wrote, and becauſe I intend to give you no further trouble. You muſt give me leave to be ſenſible when I am inſulted, which I can very eaſily forgive. Every day encreaſes the ſatisfaction I have in providing ſo well for my flock. God keep us in his holy fear, and make us wiſe for eternity.

"Your Lordſhips very affectionate friend and Br.

"May 1." T. K." *

This was in anſwer to a long letter from Lloyd of the 11th April, 1704, which draws a diſtinction between his approval (which he ſays he never expreſſed) of Ken's reſigning his Biſhopric, and congratulations on his having made choice of ſo worthy a ſucceſſor. He alſo denies having ſhown Ken's letters to others; "I communicated none of your letters to any: I did indeed read a paſſage to Mr. Spinx in my own vindication, out of your's of the 6th of December, which ſatisfyed him about your ceſſion." — The whole letter ſhows how warmly and paſſionately theſe matters were debated among all parties. Lloyd charges Ken with "pettiſh heat;" and in reference to his letter exclaims, in the ſame temper, "what ſtuffe is this!" He concludes by ſaying he will not be concerned in any further *brouilliers*. This is what Sancroft, in one of his cheerful letters, calls "a Rowland for an Oliver." If Ken was in the wrong to be impatient at the contradiction of his friends, we may find an excuſe for him, eſpecially

* Proſe Works of Ken by Round, p. 78.

when his candour prompted him at once to beg pardon. Even righteous Job ſpake unadviſedly under the ſame trial.

Ken's laſt letter is ſigned T. K. No ſooner had his friend Hooper taken poſſeſſion of the ſee, than he reſigned his title of Bath and Wells. Some of his after letters bear the ſignature of "late Biſhop." He now only deſired in his retreat "to ſerve God, to pray for his brethren, and prepare for his laſt end." The holy zeal for his Maſter's glory, which had prompted him in all his paſtoral offices, was not extinct: his affections were unalterably the ſame, but they were directed more ſimply to the interior Chriſtian life. His wearied ſpirit, and broken health, required reſt. We ſhall ſee how he ſighed for deliverance out of a tedious earthly priſon, to dwell for ever in the glorious light above. His humble and retired walk is a ſpectacle we may yet contemplate with intereſt and profit: not only as an example of patient endurance under acute bodily ſufferings, but of a deepening ſenſe of God's boundleſs love, as he moved onward to his eternal reſt.

An unexpected providence, however, was yet in ſtore for him, to render his circumſtances more eaſy on this ſide the grave. "Dr. Hooper, in accepting the Biſhopric of his friend, prayed leave of the Queen to make a condition; which was to retain his chanterſhip of Exeter in commendam. It was £200 a year, which he undertook to pay conſtantly to Biſhop Ken. The Queen was much pleaſed with the propoſal, and thanked Hooper for putting her in mind of it." * This

* Prowſe MS. Life of Hooper.

was a ſtrong proof of her reſpect for the aged Prelate, becauſe it was well known that he was reſolute againſt the oath of allegiance, which ſhe was not diſpoſed to overlook in others:—when her nonjuring uncle, Lord Rocheſter, aſked leave to come to Court, the conciſe reply was, "let him take the oaths." Trelawney, Biſhop of Exeter, objected to Hooper's retaining the chanterſhip in commendam, thinking the patronage fairly devolved to himſelf. He might not be aware that the arrangement was intended to benefit Ken, who certainly knew nothing of it himſelf. They had been companions in the Tower, in 1688: but at the Revolution Trelawney took the oaths to William. Poſſibly each of theſe old friends, who had ſtood together in a former conteſt, now looked upon the other as a deſerter from his colours. Ken might think Trelawney had abandoned the cauſe of the Church, and was probably regarded in turn as falſe to the principles of liberty. Be this as it may, Trelawney was not a man to be moved from his purpoſe; and Hooper, having the Queen's word, and poſſeſſion, would not yield the intereſts of his friend. The Lord Treaſurer, Godolphin, interpoſed to ſettle the diſpute. "The Queen ſent for Dr. Hooper, and told him it would be for her ſervice if he would reſign the Chanterſhip of Exeter; but that Biſhop Ken ſhould be no loſer, as he ſhould have £200 a year conſtantly paid him out of the Treaſury. Hooper gladly aſſented to the propoſal, for he thought it would be more to Ken's advantage to depend upon the young Queen's life for this penſion, than upon his for the Chanterſhip." *

* Prowſe MS. Life of Hooper.

We may imagine Hooper's delight, in conveying to his friend intelligence of the royal grant, by the warm expreſſion of Ken's feelings on receiving it.

"ALL GLORY BE TO GOD.

"My good Lord,

"YOUR Lordſhippe gave me a wonderfull ſurpriſe when you informed me y^t^ ye Queen had been pleaſed to ſettle a very liberal penſion on me. I beſeech God to accumulate the bleſſings of both lives on her Majeſty for her royal bounty to me, ſo perfectly free and unexpected; and I beſeech God abundantly to reward my Lord Treaſurer, who inclined her to be thus gratious to me, and give him a plentiful meaſure of wiſdom from above.

"My Lord, lett it not ſhock your native modeſty, if I make this juſt acknowledgement, y^t^ though y^e^ ſenſe of her Majeſty's favour in ye penſion is deſervedly great, yett, her chooſing you for my ſucceſſor gave me much more ſatisfaction; as my concerne for ye eternal welfare of ye flock exceeded all regard for my own temporall advantage, being as truely conſcious of my own infirmitys, as I am aſſured of your excellent abilitys, of wch ye dioceſe, even at your firſt appearance, ſignally reaped ye fruits. God of his infinite goodneſs keep us in his reverential love, and make us wiſe for eternity.

"My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's moſt affectionate
Friend & Brother,

"June 1, 1704." THO. KEN. L. B. & W."*
(late Bath and Wells.)

* Proſe Works of Ken, by Round, p. 78.

It was now fourteen years ſince Ken had been deprived. The ſudden grant of £200 per annum to one who had only £80 before, was a great acceſſion. But Biſhop Hooper would not allow him to "give it all away, which he was ſo charitable as to be always doing; ſo that his habit was mean, and a poor horſe * to carry him about, which made Hooper entreat him to lay out ſomething for himſelf; and from that time he appeared in every thing according to his condition." †

Every little incident on record of the good Biſhop furniſhes a proof of the general love and reverence he had conciliated. "The Queen's penſion was honourably and conſtantly paid every year by Mr. Taylor, of the Treaſury, to Biſhop Hooper, who as ſoon as he appeared there, had it immediately put into his hand, rolled up in paper, for he never waited longer than to receive Biſhop Ken's compliments, and acknowledgements to him for the exactneſs of the payments. And to do juſtice to this gentleman, it is right to ſay that when Biſhop Hooper offered one day to make him a preſent of fifty guineas, ready done up to put in his hands, as from Biſhop Ken (who knew nothing of it) he would not by any means take it, but with tears ſaid, 'God forbid he ſhould ever take any thing from that good man, for he was but doing his duty.'" ‡

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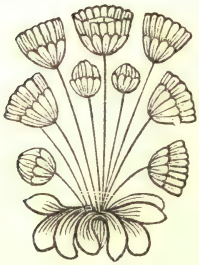
* "It would appear from a paſſage in one of his letters, that after this grant he kept an additional horſe to take him on his journies: but this was probably as ſorry a ſteed as the other, for on one occaſion we find them both laid up, ſo that he was prevented coming to Long Leat." Proſe Works of Ken by Round, p. 101.

† Prowſe's MS. Life of Hooper. ‡ Ibid.

There was in all that Hooper did the ſavour of a ſweet and obliging temper. Of this we might give many remarkable inſtances; and it is difficult to ſay which of the two friends through life had manifeſted the more exemplary and diſintereſted love for the other. Their attachment began in the warmth of youth; and for fifty years was conſtantly matured by an anſwering reſpect and confidence.

"Our love, which at Heaven's gate firſt mutual grew,
God here below took pleaſure to renew;
In Heav'n it will to conſummation ſoar,
We then ſhall ne'er be ſeparated more." *

* Ken's Poems, vol. ii. p. 290.



CHAPTER XXXI.

Resemblance of Ken, in some particulars of his life, to St. Gregory of Nazianzen. Ken's Poems—Death of Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester: his Character.

IF the reader has felt an interest in Ken's previous life, dedicated, as it was, to God's service, and to the alleviating of others' woes, he will be prepared to sympathize with him in the anguish he had to endure, in his own person, as he verged towards the grave. Alas! his infirmities were increasing upon him: he suffered from the rheumatism, the cholic, and an internal ulcer, that caused him perpetual agony.

In this, as in several other respects, his life and character remind us of Gregory of Nazianzum. We may hardly venture to compare a Confessor of modern times with the illustrious St. Gregory, who was an ornament of the Church in the time of the Council of Constantinople. But in a like spirit, though with unequal steps, he followed in the same path of holiness. Both despised riches, except as the means of doing good: they employed their revenues in supplying themselves with bare necessaries for an abstemious and slender subsistence, and disposed of the remainder in behalf of the poor. Both were pre-eminent in their day for an intimate knowledge of the holy Scriptures: both left behind them monuments of Christian eloquence: the

greater praiſe of each was a fervent love of God and man, which prompted them in their ſelf-denying and laborious lives.

St. Gregory was afflicted with many ſharp fits of ſickneſs, which often did not permit him to ſleep. Ken thus deſcribes his own ſufferings:

> "Pain keeps me waking in the night;
> I longing lie for morning light:
> Methinks the ſluggiſh Sun
> Forgets he this day's courſe muſt run.
> Oh! heavenly torch, why this delay
> In giving us our wonted day?
> I feel my watch,* I tell the clock,
> I hear each crowing of the cock.
> Sweet eaſe, Oh whither art thou fled?
> With one ſhort ſlumber eaſe my head.
> My curtain oft I draw away,
> Eager to ſee the morning ray;
> But when the morning gilds the ſkies,
> The morning no relief ſupplies.
> To me, alas! the morning light
> Is as afflictive as the night."

St. Gregory was bent with age, his countenance worn with tears and auſterities, his poor garb, and his extreme indigence made but a mean outward ſhow. So it was with Ken. Both were deprived of their Biſhoprics. St. Gregory ſeeing the great ferment of his enemies againſt him, cried out in the aſſembly, "If my holding the dioceſe gives any diſturbance, behold, I am willing, like Jonas, to be caſt into the ſea to appeaſe the ſtorm, though I did not raiſe it. If all fol-

* "His watch was purpoſely ſo contrived, as that he could by his finger diſcover the time, to half a quarter of an hour."—Ken's Poems, vol. iii. p. 396. Note.

lowed my example, the Church would enjoy an uninterrupted tranquillity. This dignity I never desired; I took the charge upon me much against my will. If you think fit, I am ready to depart; and I will return back to my little cottage, that you may remain here quiet, and the Church of God enjoy peace. *I only desire that the see may be filled by a person that is capable and willing to defend the faith.*" * In the same spirit let Ken speak for himself:

"Bless'd Gregory, with proud noisy Prelates tir'd,
Whose anti-christian spite his fall conspir'd,
Thus spake: 'Tho' I from raising storms am free,
Yet if you think my fate will calm the sea,
I'll gladly be your Jonah, throw me o'er,
And to the Church a peaceful calm restore.'
I'd gladly too be offer'd to the wave,
So I the Church might by my ruin save.
'Twill waft me on to Heav'n, or quiet shade,
In either,—Hymn is the employment made.
I, crush'd by state decree, and griev'd with pain,
The Past'ral toil unable to sustain,
More gladly off the hallow'd burthen shake,
Than I at first the weight did undertake,
And shall rejoice, when sinking to my grave,
That my dear sheep a worthier shepherd have;
That, living, I had buried Past'ral care,
And for my last was freer to prepare."

The Saint took leave of the city of Constantinople in a pathetic address, delivered in the Metropolitan Church, before an incredible number of people: In like manner Ken departed from Wells. St. Gregory concluded in these words, "my dear children, preserve the depositum of Faith, and remember the stones which

* Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. i. pp. 594—603.

have been thrown at me, becauſe I planted it in your hearts." Ken expreſſes the ſame anxious love for his people, when he ſays:—

> "To his dear flock when Greg'ry bad adieu,
> He warn'd them vow baptiſmal to renew,—
> And rather die glad Martyrs at the ſtake,
> Than the Depoſitum he left forſake.
> With like, though with inferior ſacred heat,
> The ſame requeſt I to my flock repeat.
> Wolves on the vitals of their Faith will prey,
> Their ſafety is their Shepherd to obey."

St. Gregory was tenderly affected in abandoning his flock, his own converts eſpecially. They followed him weeping and entreating him to abide with them. He was not inſenſible to their tears; but motives of greater weight obliged him not to regard them on this occaſion: an exactly parallel caſe with our Biſhop. Gregory left to Ken a full juſtification and example, when he quitted the public worſhip of the Church, and retired into ſolitude. Here he had a garden, a fountain, and a ſhady grove, in which he took much delight: he lived in company with certain ſolitaries, eſtranged from pleaſures, and in the practice of bodily mortification, faſting, watching and praying much on his knees. He ſays "we have fed the poor, we have ſerved our brethren, we have ſung the pſalms with cheerfulneſs. If we are no longer permitted to continue this, let us employ our devotion ſome other way. Grace is not barren, and opens different ways to Heaven. Let us live in retirement; let us occupy ourſelves in contemplation; let us purify ourſelves by the light of God."

In this retirement Gregory ſet himſelf to write de-

votional poems, for the edification of such as delighted in music and poetry. They are full of ardent love, and prayers to our Blessed Saviour to assist him. Ken's "Preparations for Death," "Anodynes of Pain," "Hymns for all the Festivals in the Year," and his "Songs on Jesus," though far inferior in beauty as compositions, breathe the same spirit of love and piety. He thus, with all becoming modesty, compares himself to the great Bishop of Constantinople.

"Bless'd Gregory, whose Patriarchal height
Shed on the Eastern sphere celestial light,
To Nazienzum flew, dethron'd by rage,
And spent in songs divine his drooping age.
I, if the least may with the greatest dare,
In *grief*, not gifts or graces, to compare,
Forc'd from my flock by uncanonick heat,
In singing hymns thus solace my retreat.

"Bless'd Gregory, with pain and sickness griev'd,
His spirit oft with songs devout reliev'd:
And while on Hymns his meditation dwelt,
Devotion sweeten'd ev'ry pang he felt.
Pain haunting me, I court the sacred muse,
Verse is the only Laudanum I use.
Eas'd of my sacred load, I live content;
In Hymn, not in dispute, my passion vent.

"Bless'd Gregory to sacred verse consigned
The last efforts of his immortal mind,
Those poems, loftiest prospects have disclos'd,
On brink of bright eternity compos'd.
I the small dol'rous remnant of my days
Devote to hymn my great Redeemer's praise.
And nearer as I draw t'ward heavenly Rest,
The more I love th' employment of the blest." *

* The Works of the Right Reverend, Learned, and Pious Thomas Ken, D. D. late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. 4 vols. 8vo. 1721.

In an age of criticiſm and refinement, enriched with the inheritance left to us by our poets, from Dryden downwards, through a century and a half, Ken's verſe will perhaps find few admirers. We are ſo accuſtomed to the "elegance, facility, and golden cadence of poeſy," * that no energy of thought, or genuine influences of the heart, will compenſate for the want of ſmooth-flowing numbers. With a natural and ample vein of imagination, he was deficient in the eſſentials of pleaſing, ſonorous, and varying verſe, thoſe eaſy rhythms, ſo grateful to the ear,—that metrical expreſſion, which ſprings, as by inſtinct, to embody the poet's exuberant flow of thought and feeling. Although we might have looked for theſe in the author of the Morning, Evening, and Midnight Hymns, his poems often exhibit ill-regulated and turgid flights, beyond the limits of taſte. Even amid heavenly images, we are perplexed by an uncouth admixture of harſh commonplace paſſages, that encumber the brighter viſions of his mind. Yet his volumes contain many effuſions of pathos, and of the higheſt range of poetry. His heart was ever ſtraining up to heaven, kindled by a ſpark of holy fire, more vivid than his pen had power to expreſs in verſe. If, inſtead of thoſe poetical eſſays, he had given us his meditations in the emphatic proſe of his "Practice of Divine Love," and "Wincheſter Manual," we ſhould have had a treaſure of devotional exerciſes for all time. To teſt this we need only clear ſome of his numerous hymns, and other poems, of their unharmonious numbers, and we find at once a

* Shakeſpeare. Love's Labour Loſt, act iv. ſc. 2.

ſtore of the richeſt thoughts of a devout ſoul, breathing its aſpirations to the God of prayer.

We have ſeen how, in his earlier days, he ſung his own hymns to his viol, thus dedicating his loved recreations of muſic and poetry to the one object of his life, the glory of the Redeemer. Now amid the languid hours of ſuffering, and the infirmities of age, they were ſtill his conſtant ſolace; he was like "the pale faint ſwan, who chants a doleful hymn to his own death." * Loving his memory as we do, we rejoice in the thought that he had ſuch ſweet anodynes of pain, and that they have been handed down to us, even with all their faults, for the comfort of other afflicted ſouls.

Ken was not unconſcious that cenſures would be paſſed on his effuſions in verſe. His poetical Epiſtle to the Reader may be thus rendered; "when at hours relieved from anguiſh, I quietly read over my ſongs, ſung to enfeeble the inſults of pain, I doom them to the flames; yet when I have decreed them to the funeral pile, the paternal yearnings plead in their favour. Like a father who loves his deformed and blind child, my fondneſs prevails over the impartial ſenſe of their defects. Reflecting how heaven poſſeſſed my ſoul when I poured out my ſongs of praiſe, I hoped they might ſerve to warm others, as well as myſelf. Thus they gained a reprieve, and a licenſe to appear: but not till after my death, when no cenſures can diſturb my reſt in the grave. Critics may condemn my poetry, as Michal reproached King David, when he danced before the Ark;"

* Shakeſpeare. King John, act v. ſc. 7.

"But the good King reply'd with Saint-like grace,
For God I gladly will myſelf debaſe.
Thus I, to light one ſpark of Love divine
In faithful ſouls, no cenſure will decline."

One of the happy aſylums to which Ken loved to reſort, as "a retirement into the deſert, out of the noiſe and hurry of the world," * was Naiſh Houſe, at Portiſhead, ſome ſix miles from Briſtol. There dwelt two maiden ladies, of the name of Kemeyſe, "who reverenced him for his great piety and charity. † He was a ſort of ghoſtly father to them," "exerciſing all the holy charitable offices flowing from the ἁγίων κοινωνία, ‡ and eſpecially in fervent interceſſion with God, in behalfe of the poore, harraſſed, and afflicted clergy and others." His letters make frequent mention of theſe "good virgins," in whoſe religious ſociety he ſpent much of his time, eſpecially in winter and during Lent. He calls the houſe "a kind of nunnery, where I uſually abide in my Lord Weymouth's abſence." § His reaſon for being there at Chriſtmas was "to make a retreat from the feſtivities of a Palace (Longleat) open to all comers of faſhion and quality." ‖

His friend, Dr. Smith, compares him to "St. Hierome, converſing with the devout Ladies at Bethelem, inſtructing and confirming their faith, and directing their conſciences in the methods of true ſpiritual life, and influencing their ſoules with ſeraphic notions of God, and of Chriſt, and of the other world, and eſpecially by the moſt convincing evidence and demonſtra-

* Proſe Works of Ken by Round, p. 99. † Ibid. p. 71.
‡ Ibid. p. 99. § Ibid. p. 95. ‖ Ibid. p. 96.

tion of example."* He ſpeaks of "this private ſeat of the good Ladyes as having a better pretenſe to the title of a *Religious Houſe* than thoſe ſo called in Popiſh countreys, where ſuperſtition, opinion of merit, and forced vowes, take off very much from the pure ſpirit of devotion, and render their reſtraint tedious and irkſome. But theſe good Ladyes are happy under your conduct, and are by an uninterrupted courſe of piety elevated above all the gaudy pompes and vanities of the world, and enjoy all the comforts and ſatisfactions, and ſerenity of mind, to be wiſhed for and attained on this ſide of heaven in their ſolitudes."†

This is all we can learn of Naiſh, and its inmates: it is much to be regretted that Ken did not give a more detailed account of theſe ſiſters of mercy, after the example of Francis Turner of Ely, who left behind him a memoir of Nicholas Ferrar, the devout and benevolent recluſe of Little Gidding. They not only ſerved God in their retirement by a continued courſe of devotion, but by active benevolence among the ſurrounding poor, and afflicted. The world is apt to pity the habits of thoſe who take no delight in the buſy ſchemes, or careleſs pleaſures, through which themſelves are hurrying. Whereas the lovers of meditation and prayer have the refreſhment of communion with the unſeen world, which only themſelves can know. Numberleſs paſſages in Ken's Poems ſhow how fully he realized that Article of the Catholic Faith, the "Communion of Saints," as received in the Engliſh Church. One may ſuffice:

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* Proſe Works of Ken by Round, p. 96. † Ibid. p. 96.

" Bleſs'd Spirits, you and we
Make one celeſtial family;
One Father we revere,
To one fraternal Love adhere,
You are in a happy ſtate,
Our bliſs is only inchoate:
O may we, ſtrangers here, this world repell,
And with our heavenly brethren chiefly dwell:

" Though in your bounded ſphere,
You cannot ſingle vot'ries hear,
And we in no diſtreſs
To ſingle Saints make our addreſs;
Yet if, like you, we heed
The Saints' Communion in our Creed,
We of each other's ſtate have gen'ral view,
YOU PRAY FOR US, AND WE GIVE THANKS FOR YOU."

KEN'S Poems, vol. i. p. 406.

Robert Frampton, the deprived Biſhop of Glouceſter, died in 1708. Of this good man we have ſo few memorials, it would have been difficult to give even a glimpſe of his character, but for ſome original letters in Dr. Williams's Collection. Theſe exhibit the courageous ſpirit of a Confeſſor to the truth, with a cheerfulneſs, which nothing could damp. If we are to believe his own modeſt account of himſelf, he was neither greatly learned, nor gifted with remarkable talents, having " nothing beſides a little popular oratory, and a ſprinkling in the tongues as little." His life appears to have been diſtinguiſhed by no particular events to ſtrike or dazzle a buſy world. We find no biography of him, no record of any one work, pamphlet, ſermon, or broad ſheet, that he ever committed to the preſs. All we know is that, not being able conſcientiouſly to abſolve himſelf from the oath he had taken to James,

he was ejected from his Bishopric. Freely choosing poverty as his lot, rather than change his allegiance to his exiled King, he retired privately to a country village, where he lived to a great age in the full exercise of the priestly offices, in the bosom of the Anglican Church, and gave no trouble, nor entered into controversy with any one. Anthony Wood bestows two epithets upon him, — "the most religious, and conscientious Dr. Robert Frampton:" a short, but expressive character. He forsook houses and land — his palace and his See, for Christ's sake, who hath promised in return "*an hundred fold, and the inheritance of everlasting life.*"

He was near 60 years of age, when Charles II. proposed to consecrate him to the See of Gloucester. One half of his revenues had always been dedicated to charitable uses: although he had held the Deanery of Gloucester for seven years, he was so poor that, in a letter to the Bishop of Norwich, he expresses an alarm lest the expense of taking the Bishopric should expose him to beggary, and his poor relations be reduced to the same peril also. After pleading his infirmities, and other reasons against it, he says, "My Lord, I do not write these things out of morosenes, sullenesse, ill nature, ambition of something higher than what is offered, or covetousnesse of something more profitable, or crafty desire to be further courted to this. God is my witnesse, 'tis none of these things, nor any else of ill aspect, but such an honest and impartiall estimate as I have, and ought to make of myselfe, at such a conjuncture. Nor will I belye mine innocence or affection to the Church of Christ, or to his sacred Majesty. I

hope by God's grace I ſhall be ready to lay down my life for either, when need requires. My great fear is my incapacity: for let me tell you freely, my Lord, that beſides a little popular oratory, and a ſprinkling in the tongues as little, I have nothing elſe to recommend me to this or any other employment. None of thoſe depths of knowledge in the Councils, Fathers, ſchoolmen, Church Hiſtory, &c. which are eſſential to ſuch a dignity, eſpecially in ſuch diſtracted tymes as our's are.

"'Tis Chriſtmas day, and though my pen be ſlippery on this occaſion I reſtrain it: only I call God to witneſſe, and that Holy Sacrament which I have this day received myſelfe, and adminiſtered to others, that the premiſes are all true. I pray you to conſider them ſeriouſly; the Shunamite's motto and mine are one; 'Shall I ſpeake for thee,' ſaith Eliſha, 'to the King, or to the Captain of the hoſt?' 'I dwell,' ſaith ſhe, 'among my own people.' Soe would I, if I might; and hope that ſoe I ſhall. If not, I am ſure I have dealt as an honeſt man ſhould doe.

"Craving your Lordſhipp's bleſſing, I humbly kiſſe your hands, and am

Your Lord^ps.^ moſt dutyful Son and Servant,

"Glouſter, Dec. 25, 80." ROBERT FRAMPTON."

When the Revolution was brought about, and he, as a Non-juror, was to give place to another Biſhop, his deprival occaſioned him no perſonal concern: he laid down his paſtoral ſtaff in the ſame calm and happy ſpirit with which he had received it. Dr. Edward Fowler was appointed his ſucceſſor. They were old

friends, and Frampton, who was a ſimple hearted man, felt no reſentment againſt him. But, that he might not ſeem to acquieſſe in the uncanonical act of his ejectment, he left his ſervant in the palace at Glouceſter, with orders to remain until he was forced away. Having ſo far entered his proteſt, he retired in peace to Avening, where he was permitted to live in the Parſonage Houſe. Marſhall ſays, "the good old Biſhop of Glouceſter conſtantly attended the Church, which he held in Commendam with his Biſhopric, often catechized the children in the afternoon of Sundays, and expounded the ſermon which had been preached in the morning by another perſon.* "In fact he never forſook the public aſſemblies, nor ever would be induced to look upon the national Church as ſchiſmatical." †

So little did he perſonally regret the loſs of his Biſhopric that, when Fowler was known to be his ſucceſſor, a friendly correſpondence paſſed between them. Biſhop Lloyd, hearing this, taxed him with voluntarily yielding up the Depoſitum: he wrote, therefore, to explain exactly what had paſſed: "As for the letters between me and Dr. Fowler, this is the account. He wrote to me about his election, his great unwillingneſſe to accept, his care to prevent, and mighty griefe when he could not doe it. I to him thus, 'My moſt deare friend, for now I may call you ſoe more juſtly than ever, when you have got, and I loſt, all:' adding that I believed what he wrote concerning his uneaſineſſe,

* Defence of our Conſtitution, 1717, 8vo. p. 165.

† Character of a Primitive Biſhop, p. 147.

becauſe by word of mouth, and in writing, he had aſſured me that he would never take what I loſt: and that though *I would never make a voluntary reſignation*, and liked noe more than Q. Elizabeth to heare of a ſucceſſor, yet if he muſt be the man, I would not repine, provided that he did his utmoſt to ſuppreſſe, 1ſt. Atheiſm and prophaneneſs; 2ndly, that wicked ſpirit of Fanaticiſme, which would never be at reſt till it had ruined Church and State: 3rdly, that the poiſon of Socinianiſme, which had not yet reach't theſe parts, might never do it, noe not by his connivance, much leſſe his approbation. To which he replied in a great diſtemper; and I again as pleaſantly. This is all as to that affaire." *

The following playful letter to Lloyd deſcribes the entry of the intruding Biſhop into Glouceſter:

"Honeſt John,

"Our new Biſhop came downe about a weeke ſince, and had not his unſeaſonable modeſty hindered it, by coming in the night, we had had as great a noyſe with our bels and bonfires as you have had upon another occaſion. But what was wanting in ſolemnity he himſelf made up by his preaching, Sunday was ſen'ight, on theſe words, '*Swear not at all*,' by which he proved very learnedly the neceſſity of that late oath, and the great guilt of thoſe that refuſe it.

"All therefore was very well, ſave only that Satan himſelfe, as ſome thinke, or ſome of his inſtruments, threw a ſtone through the window towards the pulpit, which is yet to be ſeen; but to noe purpoſe, for the preacher went on, and the people ſate ſtill.

* Dr. Williams's MSS. Collection.

"We had good hopes that our quondam Bishop [meaning himself] on the arrival of his successor, coadjutor, locum tenens, or whatever other title he ought to have, would have come to towne presently, or a little while after, to have bid him welcome, and wish him all joy, as is customary, you know, and natural in such cases. But he is the same morose, sullen, ill-natured man (for which he is so justly hated) as heretofore: for he neither comes, nor sends, neither letter nor good-handsell, nor any other thing, as Lordships in such cases are bound to doe; and yet lives but five miles from the place, which makes it look scurvily.

"I would you, or some others, that are friends to peace, and brotherly love, would by your letters try to cure him [Frampton *i. e.*] of that frowardnesse, which makes him the most unsociable creature in the world: for he is as rough as a beare to us, if we doe but touch him; in short we may as safely take up an hedgehog with our naked hands, when his bristles are all up on ranke and file together.

"And yet notwithstanding these great demerits, the new-come good man, as he is, sent him word but yesterday that he was infinitely troubled to take his place, and would joyfully quit it againe, if Sir John Surly would but make himselfe capable of resuming it. In short we know not well which to admire most, the sweetnesse of the one, or the sournesse of the other. You are utterly mistaken, if you looke for any more at present from

"Your's, such as he is,

"Oct. 19th, 1791." N. G. T. W."*

("Not Gloucester to wit.")

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collection.

Lloyd ſent this letter to Sancroft, who ſays, "I return you with thanks the pleaſant Epiſtle of our dear Brother, who in truth is as very an εἴρων as ever old Socrates was, and a better philoſopher, and infinitely a better man. If he that is to go to York had the peruſall of it, it might convince him that we are not all peeviſh and moroſe, and ill natur'd; but that ſome of us enjoy as great calm and ſerenity as they in their ill-gotten grandeur." *

Many years after his deprival (in February, 1699) writing to Biſhop Lloyd, Frampton mentions having ſuſtained a loſs of 350*l.* formerly lent to a faithleſs friend who would not now repay him. "But God's will be done on me and mine; this loſſe ſhall never break my heart, or ſleep, or that peace of mind which I enjoy, and hope ſtill to enjoy through His mercy. The ſame mercy keep you, my dear Brother, from ſuch diſaſters, and give you comfort in all things. But what comfort can you or I take in any earthly thing, when the name and honour and dignity of our deare Saviour is ſoe vilified by lewd wretches and apoſtates in London: as I hear it is by two letters thence. The weather is wondrous cold, and if the ſaid raſcals, or abettors, want a fire in Smithfield, let 'em ſend for me to make them one; by God's grace I would in death itſelfe owne, and glorifie, what they deride. Farewell, my dereſt. Pray for

"Yours unfeignedly and for ever,

ROBERT FRAMPTON GLOUCESTER." †

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* Dr. Williams's MS. Collection. † Ibid.

Ken and Frampton, suffering in the same cause, kept up their friendly intercourse. Ken describes to Lloyd a visit he paid to him at Avening in 1703. He calls him "our good brother of Gloucester, who was not a little joyed to see me. He is very cheerful, and being past eighty does not only daily expect, but, like St. Paul, longs for his dissolution. He has many infirmities of old age, but his eyes are very good, and he uses no spectacles. With all the tenderness imaginable he remembers your Lordship."* About the same time Frampton gives the following account of himself, in answer to the friendly enquiries of Lloyd.

"My good Lord and dearest Brother:

"BEHOLD here, in pure obedience to your L^p's will, a letter from me, such an one as it is, and may well be supposed to be, when I am not only superannuated, having passed my fourscorth yeare, and mightily burthened with such infirmityes as soe great an age may be supposed to be.

"But be these things as they will, or rather as my good Maker pleaseth, it is not in the power of tyme, or outward accidents, to alter ye inward disposition of my soule, God be blessed for it, and by his grace it never shall be. Noe, I love Him above all things with my whole heart and soule—next to Him all good men and women in ye world, because they beare his image. Especially my noble friends, such as your good L^dp and ye two most Honourable persons whom you mention. I hate noe one person in the world, not those that have

* Prose Works of Ken by Round, p. 60.

done me moſt wrong. Am as content as any man alive can be, want nothing that is neceſſary, though my ſuperfluityes are paſſed away. Alſo am willing to leave this world, ſoe ſoon as my bleſſed Maker pleaſeth. Only ſorry that I cannot lay down my life by way of martyrdome for His ſake. Pray you for me that my exit hence, and my being for ever after, may be happy to me.

"This I pray for you, for them, and for all others.

Farewell. Yours moſt unfeignedly

"May 12, 1703. ROBERT FRAMPTON, once B. G.

"I daily aſke God's pardon for wt hath bin amiſſe in my life, and would do it day by day, if I were to live a thouſand years more."

Such was Biſhop Frampton. Unwavering ſtedfaſtneſs of Faith was his ſtrength: ſimple minded, and careful for his flock, he never placed them in any difficulty, but kept them true to the Church, though they were under the rule of an intruder. In this he followed the example of many eminent primitive Biſhops, who made every perſonal ſacrifice to prevent the diſturbance of unity. His cheerful and benevolent diſpoſition, blending with a Chriſtian boldneſs, was ſo kindred to the temper of Ken, we cannot wonder they ſhould have ſuch an eſteem for each other, as their letters expreſs. The circumſtances of Ken's earlier life had brought his natural gifts and powers into more prominent view, and placed him in a wider range of uſefulneſs. But Frampton was in heart and act an equally devoted confeſſor to the ſacred cauſe of his Heavenly Maſter.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Ken survives all the other deprived Bishops. Controversy among the Nonjurors. Ken recommends all to conform to the Church. Hickes and others refuse.

BY the death of Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, on the 1st of January, 1710, Ken was left the only deprived Bishop. Having long since acquiesced in Hooper's succession, and so often expressed a desire that the schism should be healed, no one could doubt he would use his influence to bring back the nonjurors to the Church. Hitherto the whole party, or as Dodwell calls them, "our little flock," had agreed in asserting the spiritual rights of the deprived, and many had abstained from holding communion with their rival Bishops, or the clergy who adhered to them. But now, if Ken should absolutely forego his episcopal rights, there could be no ground for continuing the separation. This was the opinion of Dodwell, Nelson, Brokesby, and others, because as there were no longer any dispossessed Bishops, they who had been appointed to their sees, though originally schismatical, were now valid: they had been *nulli*, because *secundi;* but this nullity having ceased, it was the duty of all to acknowledge their authority. "There will now," says Dodwell, "be no seconds, but only single persons, in actual possession of the episcopal jurisdictions, whereof no

more than one at once can be lawfully poſſeſſed. Here, therefore, there can be no ſchiſm, where there is no altar againſt altar." *

On the other hand, Hickes, Wagſtaffe, Collier, and Brett, held that the new Biſhops, having once violated the principles of the Church, in accepting the ſees of the deprived, were unworthy of truſt: they had been guilty of ſchiſm, and ſo rendered themſelves incapable. In the ſenſe of the primitive Church any overt act of ſchiſm needs no judicial ſentence of deprivation: from that time forward they ceaſed to be true Biſhops. Having been deſtroyers of the unity of the Spirit, they thereby loſt all their rights. In order to the recovering of their forfeited unity, they muſt make an acknowledgment of error, and be reſtored by conſent of the Church. Therefore until they made ſatisfaction, and publicly renounced the doctrines by which they had maintained the ſchiſm, and obtained reconciliation, they were not to be accounted as in communion. In ſhort they were to confeſs themſelves to have been intruders, and the deceaſed Biſhops to have been the only rightful poſſeſſors of the ſees, and wrongfully deprived for maintaining true Catholic doctrine. If they would not do this, all who would keep clear of ſchiſm and hereſy ought to refuſe to communicate with them.†

In the courſe of this new controverſy, which like moſt others led to ſome ſharp reproaches on both ſides, and perſonal reflections, it came to be generally known that Hickes and Wagſtaffe had been appointed by

* Dodwell's "Caſe in View," p. 28.

† The Conſtitution of the Catholic Church, and the nature and conſequences of Schiſm, conſidered. 1716, 8vo.

Lloyd as his suffragans to Thetford and Ipswich. This fact had till now been carefully concealed, for fear the parties might incur the penalty of the law. Dodwell and his friends, who maintained that the original schism was at an end, denied the validity of the clandestine consecrations. If Lloyd, before his deprival, had no authority to appoint suffragans, he could have still less afterwards, when another was in possession of his see. There was no evidence brought forward to authenticate these consecrations: Hickes and Wagstaffe had not been put into possession of any particular church, nor advanced any claim of jurisdiction. They did not even now do so: all they pretended to was a spiritual succession. Yet they held that "the true Church Regent, or College of Bishops, and the true Church of England depending upon it, are in the little, and faithful—suffering number, and will be in those, who regularly succeed them in the royal priesthood, unto the end of the world."* The claim was imaginary—the prophecy unfulfilled, as the event proved.

Ken did not embark in these discussions: but his sentiments were promptly expressed in action. Within ten days after the death of Lloyd, he received a letter from Dodwell, to say that it was now in his power to free, not only his own diocese, but the whole national church, from the schism, introduced by filling the sees of the deprived Bishops: he therefore requested him to declare whether he so far claimed his rights, as to justify the continuance of separate communions on his ac-

* Constitution of the Catholic Church, p. 103.

count.* His anſwer was, "In that you are pleaſed to aſk me, whether I inſiſt on my epiſcopal claims? my anſwer is that I do not: and that I have no reaſon to inſiſt on it, in regard that I made ceſſion to my preſent moſt worthy ſucceſſor; who came into the fold by my free conſent and approbation. As for any clandeſtine claim, my judgment was always againſt it; and I had nothing to do with it, foreſeeing that it would perpetuate a ſchiſm, which I found very afflicting to good people ſcattered in the country, where they could have no divine offices performed. I was always tender of the peace of the Church, eſpecially in this age of irreligion; I always thought that *multitudo peccantium* might juſtify ſome relaxation of canonical ſtrictneſs." †

Robert Nelſon wrote to aſk the ſame queſtion, and Ken replied, "in regard to the clandeſtine conſecrations, I was always againſt them, as I foreſaw they would perpetuate the ſchiſm, and declared againſt the practice, and had acted accordingly, and would not have it laid at my door, having made a receſs for a much more worthy perſon. I apprehend it was always the judgment of my brethren, that the death of the canonical Biſhops would render the invaders canonical, in regard ſchiſm is not to be always." ‡

Theſe anſwers determined the majority of Nonjurors to return to the boſom of the Church. Nelſon and Dodwell, of whom the former was always called the "pious Mr. Nelſon," acted as became lovers of peace; they went to church with their families on the 26th of

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* Marſhall's Defence of our Conſtitution in Church and State. Appendix ix.

† Ibid. Appendix xvii. ‡ Ibid. Appendix xv.

February, 1710, being the first Sunday in Lent. We can understand how joyful the event must have been to them. What is our home, what all the possessions of the earth, compared with the gladness of joining in the public worship of God? The world has nothing it can barter for such a privilege.

"Of all the places here
None pictures the celestial sphere
More than God's house of pray'r,
When faithful souls sing praises there:
When heav'n and earth conspire
In one harmonious hymning Quire.
O may we, free from wilful, sensual taints,
Live in communion with supernal Saints."*

Mr. Lathbury,† in his valuable "History of the Nonjurors," has elaborately traced the after-wanderings of those who held to the schism. Their great leader was Mr. George Hickes, one of the most erudite men of his day. No one better understood the doctrines, constitution, and discipline of the church in the purest ages of Christianity, or was more thoroughly persuaded that the Anglican Church was their most perfect example. His writings are principally controversial, both in politics and religion. Among these last we have his excellent treatise, "*Speculum Beatiæ Virginis*," a "Vindication of the Church of England," and many others against the errors of Rome. He was well known to foreigners, as the author of learned works on the language, and antiquities, of the Saxon, Danish, and other northern nations, in which he was

* Ken's Poems, vol. i. p. 409.

† Author also of a "History of the Convocation:" and of "A History of the English Episcopacy, from 1640 to 1662," &c. &c.

profoundly verſed. Yet we ſee in him a ſignal inſtance of the wanderings into which many are led, ſpite of their learning, and perſonal holineſs;—how the acuteneſs of the human intellect, unconſciouſly prompted by the ſympathies of the mind, will draw out finely ſpun webs of colourable diſtinctions, of which men become ſo enamoured, as to ſacrifice the deareſt objects of life, and all their long-formed, and ſoundeſt convictions, rather than compromiſe one point of their new ſtandard of truth.

Wagſtaffe having died in the midſt of the controverſy, Hickes conſidered himſelf the only true Biſhop of England. In order to continue the "valid ſucceſſion," he called to his aid two of the non-juring Biſhops of Scotland. Theſe three conſecrated Collier, Hawes, and Spinckes, to a nominal Epiſcopate. It might have been expected that, profeſſing a zealous attachment to the ſacred cauſe of unity, they would be ready to forego ſomething of their own will to maintain it. But manifold experience ſhows that, in the infinite diverſities of theological opinion, unity is not to be found on earth. Hickes, Collier, and the others, now began to ſee that "The Order of adminiſtration of the Holy Communion" in the Church of England was faulty, as it differed from the firſt Book of Edward 6th, and was not in accordance with primitive uſage. They would, therefore, reſtore the Mixed Cup, the Prayer for the Dead, the Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the ſacramental Elements, and the Prayer of Oblation to expreſs that the Euchariſt is a Proper Sacrifice.

Hickes ſhortly afterwards died, and Collier took the lead: but his views of the Communion Office were

oppoſed by his two brother Biſhops, Hawes and Spinckes,—alſo by Gandy, Taylor, and Bedford, who afterwards were conſecrated to the Non-juring Epiſcopate. On the other hand he was ſupported by Brett, the Scotch Biſhop Campbell, and others. To maintain the ſoundneſs of his views, Collier publiſhed a book, entitled "REASONS for reſtoring ſome prayers in the Communion ſervice." This was anſwered by "No ſufficient REASONS for reſtoring," &c. Then came a "Defence of the REASONS." After that, "No neceſſity to alter the Common Prayer, being a full Anſwer to the 'REASONS,'" &c. Then followed "The neceſſity to alter the Common Prayer, being a Reply to the 'No Neceſſity,' with a Vindication of the 'REASONS,' and 'Defence,'" &c. And ſtill the ſeries proceeded with no ſettlement of the queſtion in diſpute.

The works of learned Mr. Thomas Brett, who had already entered the liſts, are of extreme intereſt. In order to prepare his readers for his arguments in favour of the reſtored uſage of Edward 6th, he embodied in his work copies of all the ancient Liturgies,* beginning with the Clementine, which was prior to the Council of Nicæa. Though he very fully expoſes the innovations of the Roman Miſſal on the primitive office, he did not eſcape the imputation of Popery. The ſame charge was made againſt Collier, with as little foundation. It is, indeed, difficult to ſay of what com-

* Collection of the different Liturgies, with a Diſſertation upon them. 1720, 4to. A Diſſertation on the principal Liturgies uſed by the Chriſtian Church in the celebration of the Euchariſt. 1720, 8vo.

munion they were: they denounced the Roman, and diſavowed the Anglican,—publiſhed their own Service-book, and at length iſſued a prohibition againſt holding communion with any who adhered to the "Book of Common Prayer." Having already thrown off their allegiance to the Engliſh Church, it was natural they ſhould diſregard her Liturgy; nor can we be ſurpriſed that they ended in denying her Catholicity. The Book of Prayer is part of her order of diſcipline, as well as an expoſition of doctrine, and without diſcipline no community, whether eccleſiaſtical, or ſecular, can maintain unity or life. If every Prieſt, according to his own views and judgment, may ſet up his ſtandard of miniſtrations, where is to be drawn the limit of conformity?

The hiſtory of theſe later nonjurors ſhows the inconſiſtencies, to which men may be involved by a yearning after a partial reſtoration of antiquity. Being alien from the Church of England, and ſincerely oppoſed to the errors of Rome, they ſought a refuge from their ſelf-impoſed iſolation in the arms of the Greek Church. No part of Mr. Lathbury's work is more intereſting than his detailed account of their negociations with the Patriarchs, and Biſhops of the Eaſt, in the hope of effecting an union. It is clear, throughout, that the only terms on which the Greek Church would receive them into communion, were thoſe of perfect conformity to the doctrines and ritual of the Eaſt. The Patriarchs deſignate the opinions of the "*ſuffering Catholic Biſhops of the old Conſtitution of Britain*, (as the nonjurors ſtyled themſelves) relative to the Euchariſt, as blaſphemous, being oppoſed to

Transubstantiation." * They require them to receive consecration at their hands; and as to their proposal for the adoption of the Liturgy of King Edward the 6th, they reply, that "the Oriental orthodox Church acknowledges but one Liturgy, the same which was delivered down by the Apostles, but written by the first Bishop of Jerusalem, James, the brother of God, and afterwards abbreviated, upon account of its length, by the great Father Basil, and afterwards again epitomized by John, the golden-tongued Patriarch of Constantinople, which from the times of Basil, and Chrysostom, until now, the oriental orthodox Church receives, and uses every where, and by them administers the Unbloody Sacrifice in every Church of the orthodox. It is proper therefore that they who are called the 'remnant of primitive piety' should, when they are united to us, make use of those, that in this point also there may be no discord between us; but that they, as well as we, should on proper days officiate by the Liturgy of St. Basil, and daily by that of St. Chrysostom." †

The nonjurors objected to Transubstantiation, the Seven Sacraments, the Invocation of the Virgin, Saints, and Angels, and to receiving the Seven General Councils as of equal authority with the Scriptures, "for they could not believe the Fathers of those Councils were assisted by an equal degree of inspiration with the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles. And as to the Seventh General Council, assembled at Nice, they thought themselves obliged to declare that they could

* Lathbury's History of the Nonjurors, p. 325.

† Ibid. p. 322.

not aſſent to the giving even the worſhip *Dulia* to Angels or departed Saints." The Patriarchs replied to the Nonjurors, that theſe diſagreements were "not to be wondered at, for, being born and educated in the principles of the *Lutheran Calviniſts*, and poſſeſſed with their prejudices, they tenaciouſly adhere to them, like ivy to a tree, and are hardly drawn off." *

At length, in 1723, after a long and interrupted correſpondence, the Patriarch ſent their ultimatum, as the reſult of a Synod of the Greek Church. They ſtate that "their doctrines had been decided upon, and that it is neither lawful to add anything to them, nor take anything from them: thoſe who are diſpoſed to agree with us in the divine doctrines of the orthodox faith muſt neceſſarily follow, and ſubmit to, what has been defined, and determined by ancient Fathers, and Œcumenical Synods, from the time of the Apoſtles, and their holy Succeſſors, the Fathers of our Church, to this time. We ſay, they muſt ſubmit to them with ſincerity and obedience, and without any ſcruple or diſpute. And this is a ſufficient anſwer to what you have written." The letter was ſigned by the four Patriarchs, and ſeveral archbiſhops and biſhops, dated September, 1723; and, that there might be no miſtake as to what "the Catholic Remnant of Great Britain" were to adopt, they encloſed an Expoſition of the Orthodox Faith of the Eaſtern Church, agreed upon in a Synod, called the Synod of Jeruſalem in 1672. †

* Lathbury's Hiſtory of the Nonjurors, p. 324.

† Ibid. p. 350. In the courſe of this correſpondence the Patriarchs of the Eaſt are not ſparing in their cenſures of the "Pope of Rome;" they deſcribe him to be "deceived by the devil, and fall-

So ended the propoſal. It ſeems ſtrange that a handful of Engliſh Divines, having no juriſdiction in any portion of the Church Catholic, ſhould for a moment entertain the project of binding to their own views the Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops of "all the Oriental Churches of the orthodox Greeks, Ruſſians, Iberians, Arabians, and many other orthodox nations." But they had worked themſelves, ſtep by ſtep, to the full perſuaſion that theirs was the true ſtandard of the orthodox, and Catholic Faith. And though that ſtandard had but lately been adopted by themſelves, they now felt it neceſſary that all other minds ſhould follow on the ſame track, to the ſame point, and no further.

However miſtaken might be this remnant of the party, it is impoſſible not to reverence the nonjurors, as a claſs. They do honour to the Engliſh character: they endured the loſs of all temporal benefits in the cauſe of, what ſeemed to them, neceſſary truth. The extent of their learning, far beyond that of after-times, their fervent piety, unbending courage, and ſelf-ſacrifice, ſhed a luſtre on their names. In the ſpirit of the primitive Chriſtians they were prepared to ſuffer all

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ing into ſtrange novel doctrines, as revolted from the unity of the holy Church, and cut off, toſſed at a diſtance with conſtant waves and tempeſt, till he return to our Catholic, Oriental, immaculate faith, and be reinſtated from whence he was broken off." They declare "the Purgatorial fire to have been invented by the Papiſts to command the purſe of the ignorant, and we will by no means hear of it. For it is a fiction, and a doting fable, invented for lucre, and to deceive the ſimple, and, in a word, has no exiſtence but in the imagination. There is no appearance or mention of it in the Holy Scriptures, or Fathers, whatſoever the authors or abettors of it may clamour to the contrary."

extremities in defence of Catholic principles: and this in an ultra-Proteſtant age, when a falſe liberaliſm beſtowed on each man the right to ſhape immutable truth to his own reception.

The Hiſtory of the early Martyrs, and Confeſſors, comes down to us, hallowed by the remoteneſs of their age: ſeen through the long viſta of centuries, they are grand and venerable in our eyes. Yet they were feeble, and poor, and of mean appearance: it was that *within* which ennobled them;—their diſregard of ſelf, immoveable ſtedfaſtneſs of purpoſe, the bright viſions of faith, that led them to dare all for the love of God. It was their ſenſe of the dignity of things ſpiritual, as a depoſit in their hands, beyond the wealth of kingdoms, which makes them illuſtrious. Thus it was, in their very humble ſphere, with the deſpiſed company of Nonjurors: and ſo long as our literature, and our records remain, how poor and ſmall will party writers, controverſialiſts, and hiſtorians appear by the ſide of the devoted band, whom they have derided for their much-tried endurance. To all who love the Church of England, Ken, and his fellow-ſufferers, will be cheering lights to the irreſolute,—guiding beacons to the courageous, in the ſacred cauſe of Truth.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Ken's last Sickness,—Death,—and Burial. Conclusion.

THE Nonjurors continued to debate on Ken's last public act. Some thought his resignation "a strange humour,"—a compromise,—the abandonment of a noble pre-eminence, as the sole remaining canonical Bishop in England. They would have him declare against the whole national Church, as a secession from the true Catholic faith. By others he was more than ever revered, for that they could now conscientiously attend the public ordinances, without fear of schism. Himself, meanwhile, was agonized with constant paroxysms of pain, which "was his familiar grown," haunting him day and night.* Death had marked him for his own: or, to speak more truly, God was graciously pleased to intimate to him that he should be gathered into His kingdom, and rest with the elect. We cannot bear to dwell on this last suffering year of his eventful life. The Hot Wells of Bristol, and of Bath, and all the remedies of the physicians, served, as he says, rather to irritate than relieve the "anguors," of more than one fatal complaint. Wheresoever he went, whatever he did, he bore about with him a living death.

Deeply affecting are those "*Anodynes, or Alleviations of Pain*," and "Preparations for Death," in his volumes

* Ken's Poems, vol. iii. p. 457.

of poetry: for they reveal an intenſity of unmitigated pains, endured with all Chriſtian meekneſs in ſubmiſſive, but anxious, hope and expectancy of his releaſe. Writing and ſinging hymns were his chief ſolace: they turned his moanings into "ſoft penitential ſighs," his tears to the meekneſs of love;

"Ejaculations Heav'n-ward ſent,
Procure ſweet eaſe, and ſorrow vent,
Why ſhould I, then, my pains decline,
Inflicted by pure Love divine?
Let them run out their deſtin'd courſe,
And ſpend upon me all their force;
Short pains can never grievous be,
Which work a bleſt Eternity." *

"Though on my cheerful wires I play,
And ſing ſeventimes a-day,
My love ſhall ever keep on wing,
Inceſſantly ſhall Heav'n-ward ſpring;
Love the beloved ſtill keeps in mind,
Loves all day long, and will not be confin'd." †

He had long ſince expreſſed how entirely he felt looſened from the world, "ſo that I have now nothing to doe but to think of eternity," or, as he elſewhere expreſſes it,

"Have nought to do but pray, and love, and *die*," ‡

That word, which to the natural man ſounds awfully, awakened thoughts of freedom to Ken, longing for heavenly bliſs.

"Though Death, the King of Terrors ſtil'd,
Frights ſouls, while here from Heav'n exil'd,

* Ken's Poems, vol. iii. p. 423. † Ibid. iii. p. 476.
‡ Ibid. vol. iv. p. 157.

He's but a despicable thing,
A petty tributary King.
Souls who in God benign confide,
Have the Almighty on their side." *

He speaks with grateful affection of friends who sympathize in his sufferings; but all their counsels, all their comforts, are vain. Then he turns to Jesus, whose mercies sweetly invite him to repent, who receives him in His arms, and cancels all the debt against him. To Jesus he discloses all his wants, and reposes on His boundless love, which softens the rude anguish of his trembling frame. He now expresses himself more than ever conscious how near to him are the glories of the spiritual world: angels and saints seem to herald the message of his release; already 'twas but a slight veil which separated them from view. A blessed, near invisible—radiant, though unseen, to all who are not dull of understanding: for it shines like mid-day to the souls of believers.

"No language can reveal
The pleasing trance which now I feel,
My ease, my sleep, strange transports seem;
Of everlasting joys I dream;
Congratulate the blest,
And long to share in Heavenly Rest." &c.

And again,

"Heaven's joys in miniature I see,
From pain when a few moments free;
Methinks I am entranc'd
Into initial bliss advanc'd,
And big with Hymn I glow,
Wrapt blissfully with God below:
From thence I guess th' immense delight
Of the eternal beatifick sight."

* Ken's Poems, vol. iv. p. 75.

That he might keep the thought of death fixed and familiar, "he had travelled for many years with his Shrowd in his portmantua, which he often ſaid, '*might be as ſoon wanted as any other of his habiliments.*'" * His purpoſe alſo was to prevent any expoſure of his perſon after death. There was a ſentiment in this, deeper than common, and in harmony with his character. Through life he had dedicated his virgin body to God; ſo in death he would have it conſigned to the earth with a modeſt reſerve, as ſomething entitled to honour: it was the "ſeat of the ſoul," the temple of the Holy Ghoſt, which had ſo often partaken of the holy Elements, and ſhould hereafter be raiſed a glorified body, and re-united to its kindred ſpirit;

> "Though ſoul and fleſh ſhall parted be,
> They'll meet in bleſt Eternity." †

There are ſeveral paſſages in the Poems expreſſive of this feeling;

The Reſurrection.

> "Great day, to mortals kept unknown,
> When the Arch-Angel from the Throne
> Shall on his radiant wings appear,
> And hov'ring o'er this lower ſphere,
> His trumpet blow, whoſe mighty ſound
> Shall undulate the globe around,
> All ſep'rate ſouls, where'er they dwell,
> In the Out-courts of Heaven or Hell,
> Soon as they hear, ſhall ſummons have
> To fly to each appropriate Grave,
> And their corporeal form reſume,
> To wait their everlaſting doom." ‡

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* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 44.

† Ken's Poems, vol. iv. p. 47. ‡ Ibid.

In his "*Preparatives for Death*," we have a clear exposition of this scriptural doctrine of

The State of Separation.

which is the title of one of those poems. The body, he says, dissolves to earth from whence it sprung,—the soul returns to its Maker.

"And there God on the Soul will shine,
Some Mansion for her will assign;
While all the sep'rate Souls in bliss
Salute her with a peaceful kiss,
And a triumphant hymn begin
For her escape from woe, and sin.

"Yet faithful Souls are but half blest,
Till glorious bodies them invest;
They live in acquiescence sweet,
Till they have happiness compleat,
Would not compleatly happy be,
Till God the moment shall decree.

"Saints thus Celestial joys foretaste,
And when their vital spirits waste,
While gently death lays flesh asleep,
Their souls celestial vigils keep;
They Jesus see, they hear his voice,
They wakefully love—hymn—rejoice." *

The Saints with Jesus.

"Soul, when your flesh dissolves to dust,
To God's safe hands yourself entrust;
Be not too curious to enquire,
Where to aspire.

* Ken's Poems, vol. iv. p. 91.

"Whether to Paradiſe you fly,
Or in bleſs'd Abram's boſom lye,
Or to that orb your flight you raiſe,
Where Enoch ſtays.

"Or to the third Celeſtial ſphere,
Where wonders Paul was wrapt to hear,
Or Hades bleſs'd, where ſouls Elect
Full bliſs expect.

"Bleſs'd Jeſus, boundleſs bliſs divine,
On you in miniature will ſhine,
Glory for glory, beam for beam,
Will on you ſtream."*

One more "Anodyne" may be permitted before we commit his body to the grave.

"O had I wings of a ſwift Dove,
That hov'ring in expanſe above,
I might ſome place deſcry,
Inſtantly thither fly;
Where, I abiding in ſweet reſt,
No Pain, no ſorrow, might my ſoul infeſt.

"I then would higher ſoar, and caſt
My eyes o'er the Ethereal vaſt;
One place is in my thought,
O were I thither brought,
Though my frail fleſh I ſtill retain'd,
I ſhould love God, ſing Hymns, and not be pain'd.

"It is the ſphere of endleſs day
Where Enoch and Elias ſtay;
Where they can ſin no more,
Where they great God adore;
There at their ſacred feet I'd kneel,
And kindle from their Hymns celeſtial zeal.

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* Ken's Poems, vol. iv. p. 143.

"I'll never envy that bless'd pair,
Saints here on earth like bliss may share;
Saints free from wilful sin
Feel the like joys within;
And while they copy the Lamb slain,
God sweetens all their sorrow and their pain." *

With these thoughts God mercifully prepared His holy servant for death. He had lived in a spirit of poverty, and mortification of will, ever preparing himself for the last hour; and when that hour struck, his breathings after eternal life had no alloy of fear. He realized the beatitudes of his loved Saviour, in faith of His precious merits alone; "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God."

And where was he to die? he had spent the summer and autumn of 1710 at Bristol, for the benefit of the Hot Well: then he removed to Lewston, near Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, "a seat belonging to the Honble. M^rs. Thynne, whose good works merited his respect, and acknowledgement, as much as her generosity attempted the relief of his distemper." † There he was detained many months, having been seized with a dead palsy on one side of him, and was confined to his chamber till the middle of March, 1711. Then he resolved to try once more if he could obtain relief from the Bath waters. But it was decreed he should not die any where but at Long Leat, which is hallowed by his name, and the near neighbourhood of his grave.

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* Ken's Poems, vol. iv. pp. 442-3,

† Hawkins, p. 42.

What place ſo fitting as the well-known, much-loved, refuge of his laſt twenty years? It was the beſt return he could make for all the benefits he had received from his faithful, enduring friend, Lord Weymouth: "I can but give you my all—myſelf—my poor heart, and my laſt bleſſing."

Mrs. Thynne endeavoured to diſſuade him from attempting to remove; but as he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to travel, ſhe ſent him in her coach as far as Long Leat,* where he had no ſooner arrived than he was ſenſible of what was to follow. His deſired releaſe was at hand: "*his ſhroud was by himſelf put on* by way of prevention, † that his body might not be ſtripp'd, and this he notified to thoſe about him." He had only time to adjuſt ſome papers: probably many of ineſtimable intereſt were committed to the flames, and hence the few memorials that remain to us. Two phyſicians attended him; Dr. Merewether of Bath, and Dr. Beviſon from Devizes: the ſhort notices of him in the Diary of the former ſhow how he revered him. "They told him, in anſwer to his own enquiry, that he had about two or three days to live: his only reply was, *God's will be done*,—his uſual expreſſion, and that without the leaſt concern, deſiring that no application might be made to cauſe him to linger in pain."‡ He told them "he had no reaſon to be afraid of dying,§ and therefore deſired they would tell him the truth." "He dozed much the day

* Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 128.

† Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 44.

‡ Dr. Merewether's Diary. Bowles's Life, vol. ii. p. 267.

§ Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 44.

or two before he died; and what little he spake was sometimes not coherent, which (being plied with opiates) seem'd to be rather the effect of dream than distemper." * "He would fain have given his servant a message for Bishop Hooper, but could not make himself understood, any more than that he mentioned his best friend." † No doubt the dying Prelate associated with the thought of Hooper the remembrance of his beloved flock, many of whom he had trained for a happy reunion, and companionship in the mansions of the blessed. Thither his soul escaped on the 19th of March, 1711.

He had desired that, wherever he might die, he should be buried "*in the Church yard* of the nearest Parish within his Diocese, ‡ under the east window of the Chancel, just at sun rising, without any manner of pomp or ceremony, besides that of the Order for Burial in the Liturgy of the Church of England, *"—and to be carried to the grave by the six poorest men in the Parish.§ He directed that a plain stone should be laid over him, with the following inscription of his own composing;

> "May the here interred Thomas, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, and uncanonically deprived for not transferring his allegiance, have a perfect consummation in Blisse, both of body and soul, at the Great Day, of which God Keep me alwaies mindful." ||

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* Hawkins's Life of Ken, p. 45.

† Prowse MS. Life of Hooper.

‡ This was "Froome-Selwood," a few miles from Long Leat, Horningsham Church not being within the Diocese of Wells.

§ Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 128.

|| Bowles's Life of Ken, vol. ii. p. 30.

He would have had his very epitaph teach the paſſers-by to offer up a holy aſpiration, at leaſt, if not a prayer; "God Keep me alwaies mindful of the Great Day." In all this we ſee that he died, as he lived, a plain humble man.* Chriſtians of old had a ſolemn feeling of the ſacredneſs of Churches: even their founders thought themſelves ſcarce worthy to be buried within the Porch of the ſanctuary, dedicated to God's honour. So Ken would ſleep in the Church yard, among the lowly of the earth,† to whom he had preached the glad tidings of a better hereafter. He had dined with his poor ones in the Palace at Wells;—now he would receive the laſt ſervice at their hands, and be carried by them to the grave, which levels all diſtinctions.

We may preſume that it was Lord Weymouth who gave directions for the ſingular monument which covers the remains of his friend. It is, as Mr. Markland deſcribes, "an iron grating, coffin ſhaped, ſurmounted by a mitre and paſtoral ſtaff, touching and beautiful in its character."‡ In Froome Church, near to the ſpot where he himſelf now reſts, one who reſembles his early friend, Lady Margaret Maynard, in a devout and charitable life, has lately placed a richly painted window in memory of his Chriſtian graces. And is the poor duſt, mouldering beneath yon iron grating,

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* Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, vol. v. p. 128.

† "The poor, whilſt living, he did ne'er deſpiſe;
Among the poor, now dead, he humbly lies."

Poem on the death of Thomas Kenn, by Mr. Joſeph Perkins, the Latin Poet Laureat.

‡ Markland's Life of Ken, p. 112.

all that remains to us of Bishop Ken? Far from it: he has left us his example, the rich legacy of a holy life. By this he points our way to the Courts of Heaven. In this he yet lives to us; by this he strengthens, comforts, sustains, and guides us, if we will be followers of him, as he was of Christ. From his practical teaching of a long and changeful life we may learn the duties of our allotted sphere; to go forward in quietness and confidence; to love and to obey; to abound in alms-giving,* and to be faithful to the Church of our baptism.

We have, moreover, in his published works a lively impress of the spirit which animated him while on earth. They are comparatively little known; and the present unworthy attempt to throw light on his character is

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* In the moment of closing our volume, one who has a special claim to admire the Bishop's character brings to our notice two additional instances of his habitual charity to the poor, and disregard for his own rights, when opposed to the interests of the Church. He has discovered them in Thomas Hearne's MSS. Journals, in the Bodleian.

"Jan. 1, 172⅘. I am told by old Mr. N. Cox, the Bookseller, who was once a Querister of New College, at least went to school there when a boy, that he remembers Bp. Ken a B. A. of that College, and that he was even then, when young, very pious and charitable, and used always to have small money to give away constantly, as he walked the streets, in pence, or two-pences, or more at a time, as he saw proper objects."—Vol. cvi. p. 27.

"June 16, 1722." (Speaking of Glastonbury.) "I am told the impropriation there is in the Bp. of Bath and Wells, and the Church served by a Vicar or Curate at a very small allowance. That Bp. Ken resolved to increase it upon renewing with his Tenant; but they could not agree, and the Tenant tempted him often with the Fine, before his deprivation, to no purpose."—Vol. xciv. p. 132.

made in the hope of leading ſome to a cloſer ſtudy of his writings. They are few and ſhort—but they are golden all. Many writers have left behind them folios of divinity, hiſtory and ethics; rich ſtores of every kind, invaluable records of truth, depoſitaries of learning, expoſitions of doctrine, commentaries on Scripture, irrefragable proofs of the ſure foundations, on which our Chriſtian Faith is builded up. Out of theſe we draw, as occaſions ſerve,—now for one good purpoſe, then for another; and we cheriſh the names of the authors with deſerved reverence. But, as a devotional writer, Biſhop Ken ſtands among the very firſt;—and becauſe prayer is the key to unlock Heaven's gates, his works are ſecond to few in importance and intereſt. "Prayer," he ſays, "is our Treaſury where all bleſſings are kept, our Armoury where all our ſtrength and weapons are ſtored, the only great preſervative, and the very vital heat of Divine Love."

And laſtly he has bequeathed to us in his Will a pledge, which in this wavering age is of ineſtimable value, his ever-memorable teſtimony to the true orthodox, primitive, and Catholic doctrines of the Church of England. In this, and for this,—our loved Church,—he was early nurtured: he devoted all the energies and gifts of his maturer life to defend her integrity,—in his advancing years he ſacrificed all he had on earth to be a Confeſſor to the enduring vitality of her ſpiritual nature;—and at his death he crowned a life of faithful allegiance to her by a declaration of Attachment, which ought to be inſcribed in the hearts of all her true children.

"*As for my Religion, I die in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Faith, profess'd by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West: more particularly I die in the Communion of ye Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papall and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Crosse.*"

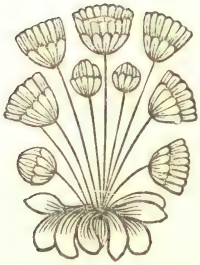
If at any time men of tender consciences, in their aspirations after some ideal perfection, be tempted to swerve from their obedience to the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, let them study the writings of humble, simple-hearted, stedfast, Bishop Ken, (stedfast, *because* humble, and simple-hearted) and they will find solid arguments to preserve them from "widening her deplorable divisions," and to inspire them with his own firm resolves to "continue stedfast in her bosom, and improve all those helps to true piety, all those means of grace, all those incentives to the love of God," which He has mercifully afforded to them "in her Communion." *

Above all let us follow him into his closet, and join with him in his prayers. They are suited to all ages, —to every varying circumstance of trial or of need. There are praises in joy, thanksgivings for mercies, penitential sighs for the contrite, breathings of faith for the broken and afflicted heart,—aspirations of heavenly love for devout souls, raising them to the spiritual vision of the glories of the eternal Throne. They are fitted for every hour, and for every place: we may use them as we walk by the way, as we rise in the

* Practice of Divine Love, p. 48.

morning, or commit ourſelves to ſleep, or lie wakeful; —as we travel, as we dwell at home;—a Companion for the Altar, and a Manual of devotions to keep alive, and cheriſh, the heavenly influences, imparted to us in the Holy Eucharist.

We humbly conclude in his own words, often addreſſed to thoſe who differed from him, "MAY GOD KEEP US IN HIS HOLY FEAR, AND MAKE US ALL WISE FOR ETERNITY." AMEN.



APPENDIX.

A B & C.

BISHOP KEN'S

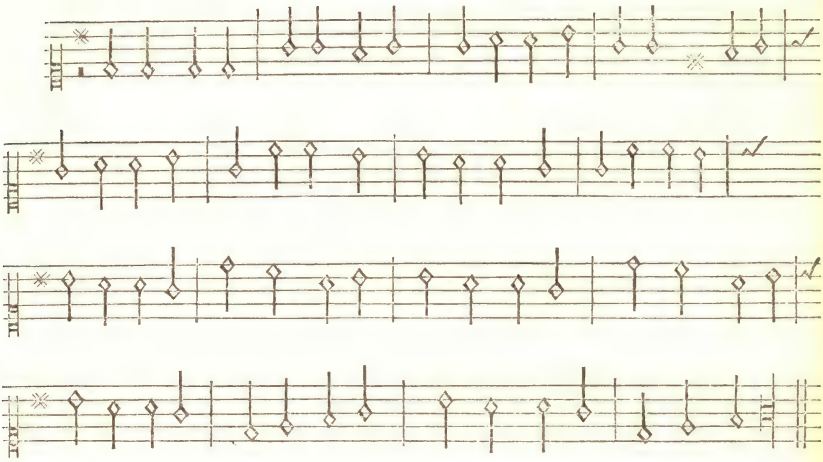
MORNING, EVENING AND MIDNIGHT

HYMNS.

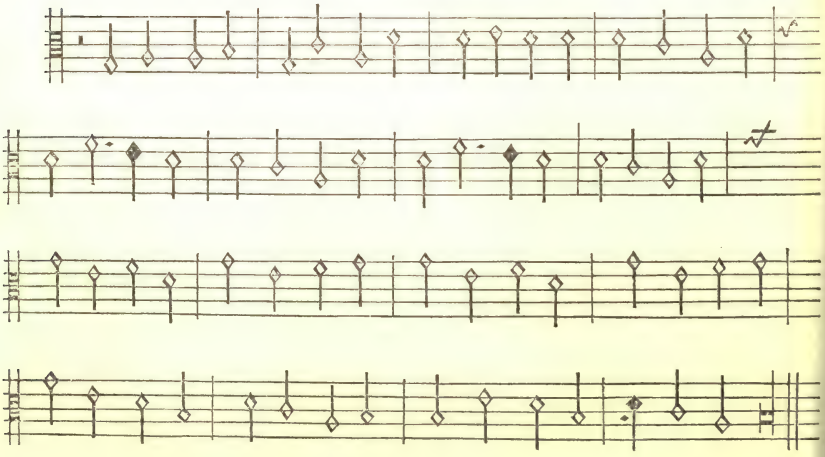
Fac-ſimile of the Original Tune of Biſhop Ken's Evening

The Eighth Tune.

Meane.

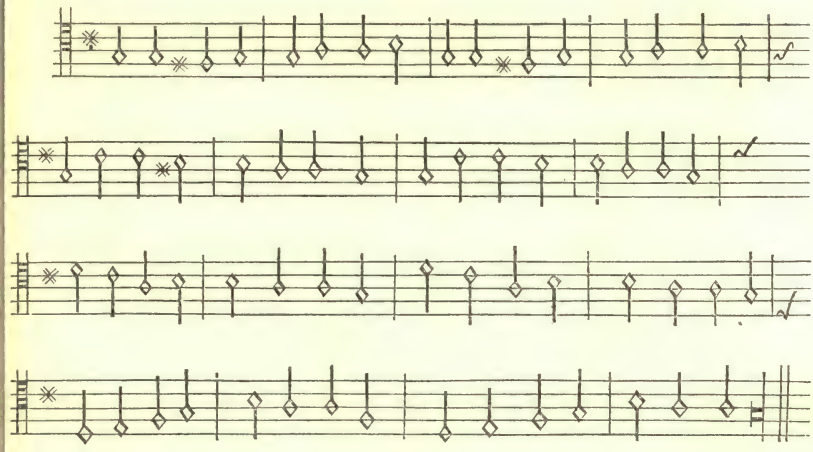


Contratenor.

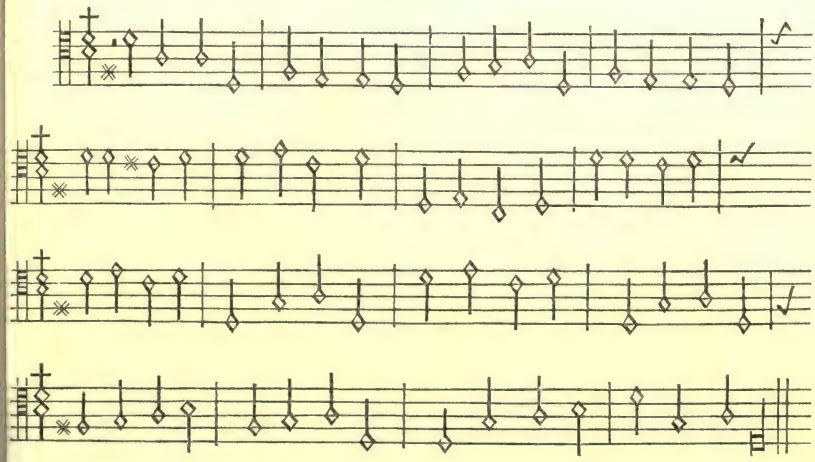


Hymn, by Tallis, in Archbiſhop Parker's Pſalter.

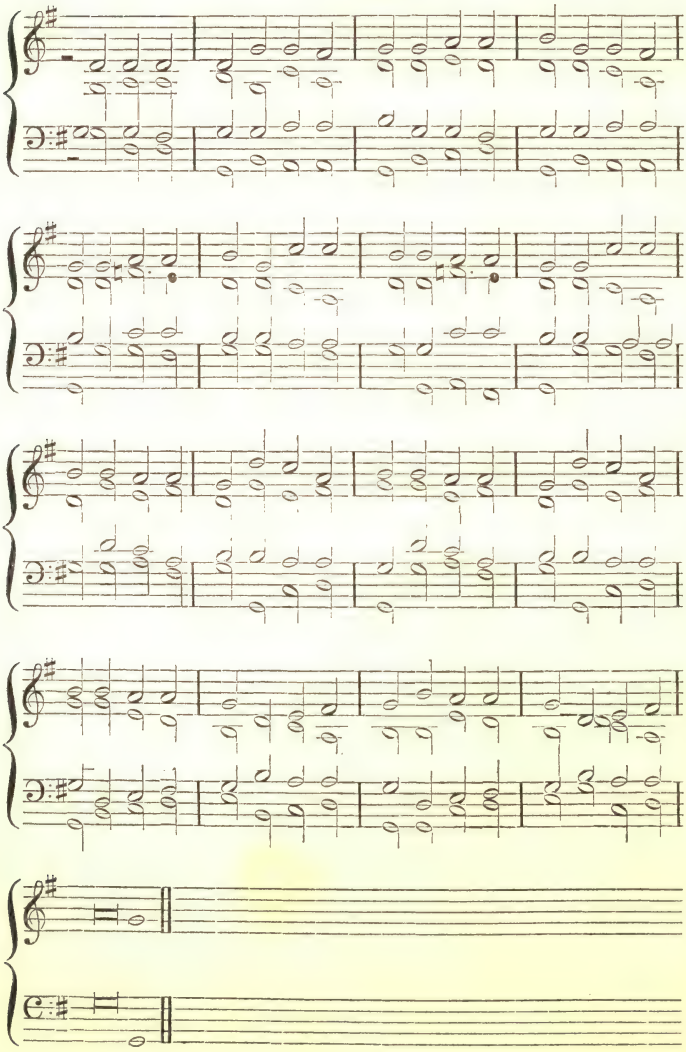
Tenor.



Baſe.



A ſhort ſcore for the Organ of the tune of Biſhop Ken's Evening Hymn.



THREE HYMNS BY THE

Author of the Manual of Prayers for the uſe of the Scholars of Wincheſter *Colledge.*

A Morning HYMN.

AWake my Soul, and with the Sun,
Thy daily ſtage of Duty run;
Shake off dull Sloth, and early riſe,
To pay thy Morning Sacrifice.

Redeem thy miſpent time that's paſt,
Live this day, as if 'twere thy laſt:
T'improve thy Talent take due care,
Gainſt the great Day thy ſelf prepare.

Let all thy Converſe be ſincere,
Thy Conſcience as the Noon-day clear;
Think how all-ſeeing God thy ways,
And all thy ſecret Thoughts ſurveys.

Influenc'd by the Light Divine,
Let thy own Light in good Works ſhine:
Reflect all Heaven's propitious ways,
In ardent Love, and chearful Praiſe.

Wake and lift up thy ſelf my Heart,
And with the Angels bear thy part,
Who all night long unwearied ſing,
Glory to the Eternal King.

I wake, I wake, ye Heavenly Choire
May your Devotion me inſpire,
That I like you my Age may ſpend,
Like you may on my God attend.

May I like you in God delight,
Have all day long my God in ſight,
Perform like you my Makers Will,
O may I never more do ill.

Had I your Wings, to Heaven I'd flie,
But God ſhall that defect ſupply,
And my Soul wing'd with warm deſire,
Shall all day long to Heav'n aſpire.

Glory to thee who ſafe haſt kept,
And haſt refreſht me whilſt I ſlept.
Grant Lord, when I from death ſhall wake,
I may of endleſs Light partake.

I would not wake, nor riſe again,
Ev'n Heav'n it ſelf I would diſdain;
Wert not thou there to be enjoy'd,
And I in Hymns to be imploy'd.

Heav'n is, dear Lord, where e'r Thou art,
O never then from me depart;
For to my Soul 'tis Hell to be,
But for one moment without thee.

Lord I my vows to thee renew,
Scatter my ſins as Morning dew,
Guard my firſt ſprings of Thought, and Will,
And with thy ſelf my Spirit fill.

Direct, controul, ſuggeſt this day,
All I deſign, or do, or ſay;
That all my Powers, with all their might,
In thy ſole Glory may unite.

Praiſe God, from whom all Bleſſings flow,
Praiſe him all Creatures here below,
Praiſe him above y'Angelic Hoſt,
Praiſe Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.

An Evening HYMN.

GLory to thee my God, this night,
For all the Bleſſings of the Light;
Keep me, O keep me King of Kings,
Under thy own Almighty Wings.

Forgive me Lord, for thy dear Son,
The ill that I this day have done,
That with the World, my ſelf, and Thee,
I, e'r I ſleep, at peace may be.

Teach me to live, that I may dread,
The Grave as little as my Bed;
Teach me to die, that ſo I may
Triumphing riſe at the laſt day.

O may my Soul on thee repoſe,
And with ſweet ſleep mine Eye-lids cloſe;
Sleep that may me more vig'rous make,
To ſerve my God when I awake.

When in the night I ſleepleſs lie,
My Soul with Heavenly Thoughts ſupply,
Let no ill Dreams diſturb my Reſt,
No powers of darkneſs me moleſt.

Dull ſleep of Senſe me to deprive,
I am but half my days alive;
Thy faithful Lovers, Lord, are griev'd
To lie ſo long of Thee bereav'd.

But though ſleep o'r my frailty reigns,
Let it not hold me long in chains,
And now and then let looſe my Heart,
Till it an Hallelujah dart.

The faſter ſleep the ſenſe does bind,
The more unfetter'd is the Mind;
O may my Soul from matter free,
Thy unvail'd Goodneſs waking ſee!

O when ſhall I in endleſs day,
For ever chaſe dark ſleep away,
And endleſs praiſe with th'Heavenly Choir,
Inceſſant ſing, and never tire?

You my bleſt Guardian, whilſt I ſleep,
Cloſe to my Bed your Vigils keep,
Divine Love into me inſtil,
Stop all the avenues of ill.

Thought to thought with my Soul converſe,
Celeſtial Joys to me rehearſe,
And in my ſtead all the night long,
Sing to my God a grateful Song.

Praiſe God from whom all Bleſſings flow,
Praiſe him all Creatures here below,
Praiſe him above y'Angelick Hoſt,
Praiſe Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.

A Midnight HYMN.

LOrd, now my Sleep does me forſake,
The ſole poſſeſſion of me take,
Let no vain fancy me illude,
No one impure deſire intrude.

Bleſt Angels! while we ſilent lie,
Your Hallelujahs ſing on high,
You, ever wakeful near the Throne,
Proſtrate, adore the Three in One.

I now awake do with you joyn,
To praiſe our God in Hymns Divine:
With you in Heav'n I hope to dwell,
And bid the Night and World farewell.

My Soul, when I ſhake off this duſt,
Lord, in thy Arms I will entruſt;
O make me thy peculiar care,
Some heav'nly Manſion me prepare.

Give me a place at thy Saints feet,
Or ſome fall'n Angel's vacant ſeat;
I'll ſtrive to ſing as loud as they,
Who ſit above in brighter day.

O may I always ready ſtand,
With my Lamp burning in my hand,
May I in ſight of Heav'n rejoyce,
When e'r I hear the Bridegroom's voice.

Glory to thee in light arraid,
Who light thy dwelling place haſt made,
An immenſe Ocean of bright beams,
From thy All-glorious Godhead ſtreams.

The Sun in its Meridian height,
Is very darkneſs in thy ſight:
My Soul, O lighten, and enflame,
With Thought and Love of thy great Name.

Bleſt Jeſu, thou on Heav'n intent,
Whole Nights haſt in Devotion ſpent,
But I frail Creature, ſoon am tir'd,
And all my Zeal is ſoon expir'd.

My Soul, how canſt thou weary grow,
Of Ante-dating Heav'n below,
In ſacred Hymns, and Divine Love,
Which will Eternal be above?

Shine on me, Lord, new life impart,
Freſh ardours kindle in my Heart;
One ray of thy All-quickning light,
Diſpels the ſloth and clouds of night.

Lord, leſt the tempter me ſurprize,
Watch over thine own Sacrifice,
All looſe, all idle Thoughts caſt out,
And make my very Dreams devout.

Praiſe God, from whom all Bleſſings flow,
Praiſe him all Creatures here below,
Praiſe him above y'Angelick Hoſt,
Praiſe Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt.

APPENDIX C.

SOMERS TRACTS, Vol. viii. p. 189.

"A TRUE and exact account of all the ceremonies obſerved by the Church of Rome, at the opening, during the progreſs, and at the concluſion of the next approaching Jubilee in the year 1700. Taken and tranſlated into Engliſh from the Latin original, printed at Rome, by order of the Pope."

"At the approach of the Jubilee, the Popes of Rome cauſe the bill of Jubilee to be publiſhed with a great deal of pomp and magnificence. This ceremony is always performed on *Aſcenſion day*, in the great portal of St. Peter's Church in the Vatican; where for this purpoſe are placed two rich chairs, from whence the miniſters choſen by his Holineſs, read with a very loud and diſtinct voice, the Brief or Bull of the Jubilee in Italian: after this publication four ſeveral copies of the ſaid Bull are affix'd to the eaſt, ſouth, weſt, and north corners of the city of Rome," &c.

"This being done, Briefs or Letters are diſpatched to all the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Superiours of all the Provinces in the Kingdoms, to notify the celebration of the Jubilee, and to exhort the Prelates to be more than ordinary zealous in their duty to inſtruct, either themſelves, or by their miniſters, the flocks committed to their care, by which means they may qualify themſelves to obtain the happy effects of the approaching Jubilee; juſt as the Jubilee, inſtituted by Moſes, according to God's order, was publiſhed before the ſeventh month under the ſound of trumpets.

"The ſolemnity of the Jubilee begins upon *Chriſtmas-Eve*, juſt before the *Veſpers*, by a ceremony which deſerves particularly to be taken notice of, which is the opening of the *Holy Gate*. For the better underſtanding of which, it is to be known, that this *Holy Gate* is one of the gates of *St. Peter's*

Church in the *Vatican*, which is always ſhut, nay, even bricked up, during the interval betwixt the Jubilees, which always begins by the opening of this gate.

"After dinner, about the time of the Veſpers of this great Eve, a moſt ſolemn proceſſion is made at which aſſiſt the Ambaſſadors of foreign princes, then reſiding in *Rome*, the magiſtrates of the city, all the Penitentiaries and Prelates abiding at *Rome;* all the Chapters, Fraternities, the *Roman* Clergy, the College of Cardinals, and the Sovereign Pontiff in perſon, each according to his rank and quality. Thus they go in Proceſſion, with a great Croſs before them, to the Chappel of the Apoſtolic Palace, where the whole company being entered, the Holy Father, with all there preſent, fall on their knees before the Sacrament; in the mean time that many officers are employed in lighting flambeaus for the Cardinals to hold, as a ſign of joy. Then the Pope throws ſome incenſe upon a chafing-diſh, with a moſt profound reverence before the Altar; after which he begins the Hymn; *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which is continued to the end by a concert of muſic, and ſung diſtinctly, to repreſent the Holy Fathers in *Limbo*. From thence this proceſſion goes on in the ſame order as before, to *St. Peter's* Church, being followed by the holy Father in perſon, who is carried in a chair, to the *Holy Gate*, which, as well as all the reſt, is kept cloſe ſhut up. Everybody having taken his place, the Holy Father gets out of his chair, and with a lighted Wax-Taper in his hand, walks up three ſteps to another chair, placed for that purpoſe, juſt by the *Holy Gate*. After he has repoſed a little, he ariſes, and turning himſelf towards the *Holy Gate*, he knocks with a Silver Hammer on the *Holy Gate*, which is to be opened, and ſings likewiſe three ſeveral times the following verſes, unto which the muſicians, who compoſe the chorus, anſwer at each time.

V. *Aperite mihi portas Juſtitiæ*
Open unto me the Gates of Juſtice.
R. *Ingreſſus in eas confitebor Domino*
When I am entered, I will praiſe the Lord.
V. *Introibo in Domum tuam Domine.*
I will enter, O Lord, into thy Houſe.

R. *Adorabo ad Templum Sanctum tuum in timore tuo*
I will adore thee in thy Fear in thy Temple.
V. *Aperite portas, quoniam nobiſcum Deus.*
Open the Gates, becauſe the Lord is with us.
R. *Quia fecit Virtutem in Iſrael.*
Becauſe he has made known his Strength in Iſrael.

"Then the Pope ſits down in his chair again; and ſays:

V. *Domine exaudi orationem meam.*
Lord hear my prayer.
R. *Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*
Let my cry reach thy Ears, O Lord.

"At the ſame inſtant that the Pope goes from the *Holy Gate* towards his chair, the maſons begin to demoliſh the wall wherewith the *Holy Gate* had been bricked up, and as they are carrying off the materials, the Pope goes on thus;

V. *Dominus vobiſcum.*
The Lord be with you.
R. *Et cum Spiritu tuo*
And with thy holy Spirit.

OREMUS. *Actiones noſtras quod ſumus Domine, etc.*

"This Prayer being done, the Chorus ſings the Pſalm;

Jubilate Deo omnis terra, ſervite Deo in lætitiâ, etc.

During which time the people which croud up as near as they can to the rails, and the Penitentiaries in their ſacerdotal veſtments, waſh the Head-piece, Poſts, and the Threſhold, and in ſhort the *Holy Gate* with Holy Water: which being done, the Pope, as he is approaching to enter the *Holy Gate*, ſays the following verſes, and is anſwered by the Chorus;

V. *Hic dies quam fecit Dominus.*
This is the day the Lord has given us.
R. *Exultemus, et lætemur in ea.*
Let us rejoice in it.
V. *Beatus populus tuus, Domine.*
Happy is thy people, O Lord.

R. *Qui facit Jubilationem.*
Which enjoys this Jubilee
V. *Hæc eſt porta Domini*
This is the Gate of the Lord.
R. *Juſti intrabunt per eam*
The righteous are to enter it.
V. *Domine exaudi orationem meam*
O Lord hear my prayer.
R. *Et clamor meus ad te veniat*
And let my cry reach thy ear.
V. *Dominus vobiſcum*
The Lord be with you
R. *Et cum ſpiritu tuo.*
And with thy Spirit.

Let us pray.

"O Lord, who by thy ſervant *Moſes*, didſt inſtitute among the Children of *Iſrael* the Jubilee and Year of Remiſſion: grant, through thy goodneſs, to us who have the honour to be called Thy ſervants, to commence happily this preſent Jubilee, ordained by thy Authority; and in which it has been thy Will to ſet open to thy people in a moſt ſolemn manner this Gate, through which to enter into thy Temple, to offer their prayers in the preſence of thy divine Majeſty; that thereby having obtained plenary and abſolute Remiſſion of all our ſins, we may, at the day of our departure out of this world, be conducted, through thy mercy, to the enjoyment of the Heavenly Glory, through *Jeſus Chriſt.* Amen.

"This prayer being ended, a Croſs is given into the Pope's hand, who, kneeling down in the *Holy Gate*, ſings the *Te Deum laudamus, &c.*, and afterwards, as he is entering through the Gate, the Chorus go on ſinging *Te Dominum.* He is no ſooner entered through the Gate into the body of the church, but the Chairmen, clothed in red, attending for that purpoſe, take him up in a Chair, and carry him ſtraightways to the Great Altar of the Church of *St. Peter;* where being ſet down, he ariſes out of the chair, and after ſome time ſpent in prayers before the Holy Sacrament, he mounts a throne, erected on

purpoſe for this uſe, and begins the Veſpers, which, according to cuſtom, are ſung for the Feaſt of the Nativity of our Saviour.

"Having entertained you ſufficient with the *Holy Gates*, and the ceremonies belonging to them, we muſt alſo take a ſhort view of thoſe tranſactions which are performed in the city of *Rome*, to obtain the happy end of the Jubilee. As thoſe who hope to reap the fruits of a plenary Indulgence, muſt qualify themſelves for it by many acts of charity, a true penitence, and other good works, ſo, I muſt needs tire the readers patience, if I ſhould pretend to give an exact account of thoſe who flock from all parts of Rome, to make their Confeſſions, and appear before the higheſt tribunal of Penitence; it will ſuffice to ſay, that both day and night all the Churches of that great City are filled up with innumerable multitudes of people, who offer up their prayers in the Preſence of God Almighty. I may ſay it without vanity, that there is no ſtreet, no, not ſo much as a by-lane, in this vaſt City, which being formerly the capital Empire of the world, is now the Capital of God's Kingdom upon Earth, where you may not ſee moſt evident marks of an unfeigned piety; here you meet thoſe who make it their whole buſineſs to give alms to the poor, with ſo much profuſion, that you cannot imagine otherwiſe, but that they are giving away all they have, the better to follow Chriſt; others you may obſerve to beſtow moſt of their time and ſubſtance in giving a good reception to thoſe Pilgrims, who come from all the corners of Chriſtendom, to partake of the happy effects of the Jubilee. You will meet as well in the ſtreets as in the churches, vaſt numbers of both ſexes, who touched with remorſe for their paſt crimes, appear in miſerable dreſs, and a moſt abject poſture; ſome are clad in long coarſe Gowns, others covered only with Sack-Cloth, ſome cover their hands and faces with Aſhes, others knock their breaſts with their fiſts; many there are who tear their fleſh all over their bodies by the violence of the Diſcipline; and to be ſhort, there is ſcarce any kind of mortification invented to give ſatisfaction to, and appeaſe God's anger, which you ſee not put in practice at that time. Neither muſt you imagine that thoſe Exerciſes

are performed by private perſons only; no, you will ſee whole Fraternities and Congregations, compoſed of a conſiderable number, who, all animated by the ſame Spirit, ſtrive to excite one another to the performance of them, by their mutual examples. Thus you may behold entire Chapters and Colleges of Canons, and other Societies, enter in Proceſſion the city of *Rome;* nay, whole pariſhes, with their Curates at the head of them, who leave their habitations to pay their adoration to the Lord, and his Son *Jeſus Chriſt* in that Church, where, as it may be ſaid, God has erected his Tabernacle, and honoured it with his particular protection, and which claims a Prerogative before others, by the death of the chief of the Apoſtles and his fellow Sufferer. With this kind of people you ſee all the ſtreets, and other public places, of this vaſt City crowded, going in proceſſion from one Church to the other, ſome ſinging, others ſighing and ſhedding tears. For whilſt ſome are buſy ſinging the Litanies and Pſalms, appointed for that purpoſe, others offer their prayers with their eyes faſtened to the ground, and when they approach the Churches, eſpecially that of *St. Peter*, you may ſee many of them crawling upon the ground to the foot of the altar, where they continue for a conſiderable time in ſaying their prayers."

After this follows a particular account of ſhutting up the Holy Gate at the end of the Jubilee year, which is on the following Chriſtmas Eve. The Pope, with a ſilver trowel gilt, takes mortar, &c., and with great ceremony begins the operation of bricking up the Holy Gate, which is not to be opened till the next Jubilee: this is finiſhed by others in the Pope's preſence all ſinging in chorus:—*Lauda Jeruſalem Dominum lætatus ſum in his*," *&c.*, p. 196.

FINIS.

C. WHITTINGHAM, CHISWICK.

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